United Nations S/PV.3561

Security Council

Fifteth Year

Provisional

3561st Meeting

Friday, 4 August 1995, 11.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wisnumurti	(Indonesia)
Members:	Argentina	Ms. Cañas
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Sporýš
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Honduras	Mr. Martinez Blanco
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mr. Hume

Agenda

The situation in Croatia

95-85801 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178

The meeting was called to order at 11.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Croatia

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Drobnjak (Croatia) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 4 August 1995 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, which will be issued as document S/1995/647.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council is deeply concerned at the resumption of hostilities in and around the Republic of Croatia. The Council recalls the statement of its President of 3 August 1995. It strongly deplores the decision by the Croatian Government to launch a broad military offensive, thereby unacceptably escalating the conflict, with the risk of further consequent attacks by whatever party, and demands that all military action cease immediately and that there be full compliance with all Council resolutions including resolution 994 (1995).

"The Security Council condemns any shelling of civilian targets. It demands that no military action be taken against civilians and that their human rights be fully respected. It reminds the parties of their responsibilities under international humanitarian law and reiterates that those who commit violations of international humanitarian law will be held individually responsible in respect of such acts. The Council calls on the parties to cooperate fully with UNCRO, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross in ensuring access and protection to the local civilian population as appropriate.

"The Security Council strongly condemns attacks by Croatian Government forces on personnel of the United Nations peace-keeping forces which have resulted in casualties, including the death of one member of the peace-keeping forces. It demands that such attacks cease immediately and that all detained personnel be released. It also reminds the parties, and in particular the Croatian Government, that they have an obligation to respect United Nations personnel, to ensure their safety and freedom of movement at all times and to enable UNCRO to fulfil its mandate in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. The Council expresses condolences to the Government of Denmark and to the family of the member of the United Nations peace-keeping forces who lost his life.

"The Security Council deeply regrets the breakdown of the talks which began in Geneva on 3 August 1995. It calls upon the Croatian Government to return to the talks. It reiterates that there can be no military solution to the conflict in Croatia. It reaffirms its call for an unreserved commitment to the search for a negotiated settlement and to resumption of talks on the basis of the Draft Agreement drawn up by the Co-Chairman of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

"The Security Council will remain seized of the matter, and will consider any further measures that may be necessary."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/38.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12 midnight.

United Nations S/PV.3562

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3562nd Meeting

Monday, 7 August 1995, 10.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wisnumurti	(Indonesia)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Cañas
	Botswana	Mr. Nkgowe
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Sporýš
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Eitel
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation in Angola

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) (S/1995/588)

95-85808 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Angola

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) (S/1995/588)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola and Brazil in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fortes (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Valle (Brazil) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) (S/1995/588).

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/646, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The first speaker is the representative of Angola, whom I invite to make his statement.

Mr. Fortes (Angola) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are awaiting our Ambassador, who has just arrived from Angola and should be here any minute. I apologize to you, Mr. President. By the end of the meeting he should be here to speak on behalf of my Government.

The President: We shall await his arrival.

The next speaker is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Valle (Brazil): At the outset, let me congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of August. We are confident that under your wise and skilled leadership the work of the Security Council will be conducted in a highly effective way. I take this opportunity also to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Martínez Blanco, for the able way in which he conducted the business of the Council during the month of July.

Let me express our gratitude and appreciation for the Secretary-General's latest report on the situation with regard to the peace process in Angola. As the report itself states,

> "the Angolan peace process has made steady progress since the adoption of Security Council resolution 976 (1995)." *(S/1995/588, para. 2)*

We can now identify an atmosphere of increasing confidence between the Government of Angola and UNITA.

The meeting in Lusaka on 6 May 1995 between the President of Angola and Mr. Jonas Savimbi was a very welcome development in this context. The United Nations, especially through the Security Council, has been instrumental in paving the way for an effective peace process in Angola.

The Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, have been key players in bridging differences and in facilitating the consolidation of the peace process. I should like to stress the indefatigable efforts of Maître Blondin Beye in the negotiations that preceded the Lusaka meeting. His role has since continued to be a fundamental one. The recent visit of the Secretary-General to Angola was another very important step aimed at preserving the momentum of the peace process.

Brazil has always had a strong commitment to the cause of peace in Angola and has consistently supported United Nations efforts with this objective.

The Security Council has before it today a draft resolution that would extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) until 8 February 1996. As a whole, we consider it a balanced text. Its most important element is the confirmation of the commitment of the United Nations to the consolidation of the peace process in Angola. The United Nations is allocating personnel and resources to Angola which will help to direct the country towards peace and development. As the peace process is consolidated, greater attention will have to be given to the tasks of development and reconstruction. It is our hope that the international community will not fail to assist the Government and the people of Angola in these fundamental tasks.

I should like, finally, to stress the political priority that Brazil attaches to its participation in UNAVEM III, as publicly reiterated by President Henrique Fernando Cardoso on the occasion of a ceremony to decorate a Brazilian peace-keeper taken hostage in Bosnia.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): Permit me at the outset, Sir, to express my delegation's delight at seeing you preside over the affairs of our Council this month. We have no doubt whatsoever that with you as our President the work of the Council is indeed in excellent hands. My delegation would also like to express hearty thanks to your predecessor, Ambassador Martínez Blanco, and to the entire Honduran delegation for their excellent stewardship of the Council during the month of July.

May I also seize this opportunity to formally welcome to the Council the new Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir John Weston. We feel sure that his contributions to the work of our Council will be as distinguished as those of his predecessor.

The latest report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Angola is on the whole a positive one with regard to the peace process in that country. The news coming out of Angola is gradually and steadily getting better; one could indeed say that the peace process in Angola now seems truly irreversible. There is a lesson here for the international community: that the cause of peace is better served by perseverance than by a policy of cut and run.

On the political front, the 6 May 1995 meeting between the President of Angola and the UNITA leader has created a positive atmosphere and generated a momentum which has been taken advantage of by all concerned to advance the peace process. Furthermore, my delegation is particularly encouraged by the fact that contacts between the two leaders have become more frequent. The proposals that have been put forward in the area of national reconciliation and power-sharing, through the offer of a vice-presidency to Mr. Savimbi, have the support of my Government. We therefore urge both sides to work towards further accommodation in the higher interest of lasting peace in Angola. In this context, we were further encouraged by the assurances the Secretary-General received, during his recent visit to the country, from both the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA of their continued and even greater commitment to the peace process. Experience of other conflict situations has shown that the success of a peace process is truly dependent on the will and commitment of a people and its leaders, supported, of course, patiently by the international community.

On the military side, we note that no major breach of the peace has occurred, although the incidence of violations is still unacceptably high. With regard to the humanitarian situation in Angola, we are happy to note that it has continued to improve since February 1995 as a direct result of the peace process and the expanded presence of the United Nations in the country. However, we appeal to the international community to contribute generously to the funding of other humanitarian activities, including for demobilization and reintegration and for the repatriation of refugees. Although these problems do not catch the attention of the international media or get headlines, their resolution is no less vital for the consolidation of peace in Angola.

In spite of these positive signs in the peace process in Angola, we are concerned, none the less, about the slow progress in troop disengagement, demining and the establishment of the quartering areas. It is important to strive to overcome the various difficulties, including logistical and financial, that have accounted for the slow

pace of progress in these areas. We therefore call on the Government of Angola and on UNITA, in cooperation with the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), to finalize arrangements for the establishment of quartering areas, complete the disengagement of troops and expedite the conduct of demining. We also hope that arrangements reached by the two sides during the high-level meeting in Luanda, from 19 June to early July 1995, concerning the acceleration of the timetable for the implementation of the various aspects of the Lusaka Protocol, will be strictly adhered to and that both sides will further demonstrate their commitment by cooperating with UNAVEM III personnel and, in particular, with the Joint Commission.

My delegation notes with satisfaction that as of July 1995 UNAVEM III personnel had been deployed to 55 sites throughout Angola and that 5 additional sites will soon have a UNAVEM presence. The current strength of UNAVEM III, which stands at 1,970, has, in our view, undoubtedly had a salutary effect on the peace process in Angola.

We are grateful to the Secretary-General for highlighting the socio-economic aspects of the peace process in Angola, efforts which are now referred to as post-conflict peace-building. Angola is a country that has suffered from the devastating effects of war for over 30 years. Therefore, improvements in the social and economic areas hold the key to the establishment of durable peace in that country. In our view, the international community should assist the people of Angola as they try to tackle the enormous challenges they will face in what will surely be a long and arduous process of rehabilitation and reconstruction.

In conclusion, my delegation is gratified that the validity of our repeated calls for accelerated deployment of UNAVEM III infantry battalions has been borne out by the view of the Secretary-General that the progressive deployment of elements of UNAVEM III has helped consolidate the cease-fire and promote the spirit of the Lusaka Protocol. While taking due cognizance of the practical difficulties of a faster pace of deployment — in particular, those having to do with mines — we hope all efforts will be made to match the pace of deployment with the greater commitment that has been demonstrated by the Angolan parties. My delegation would also like to remind the Angolan parties of their responsibility for the safety and protection of UNAVEM III personnel and the humanitarian agencies operating within their respective territories.

Of course, we support the six-month extension of UNAVEM III's mandate, as proposed by the Secretary-General, and my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

Finally, we wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, to Major-General Chris Garuba, Force Commander of UNAVEM III, to all the personnel of UNAVEM III and to the Secretary-General himself for his personal efforts and contribution to the peace process in Angola.

The President: I thank the representative of Nigeria for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): At the outset, please allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am convinced that, given your outstanding talent and rich diplomatic experience, you will guide the Council to success in its work this month. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Martínez Blanco of Honduras, for his outstanding contributions to the complete success of the Council's work last month.

Encouraging progress has been made in the peace process in Angola since the adoption of Security Council resolution 976 (1995). President dos Santos and UNITA President Savimbi held a direct meeting in Lusaka in May of this year. The Angolan Government and UNITA have since increased their contacts and have reached an agreement on the adjusted timetable for the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. All this has undoubtedly laid the groundwork for its comprehensive implementation. However, there are still many disturbing problems to be resolved properly in the peace process, which include, *inter alia*, the formation of the new armed forces, the acceleration of the demining process and the exchange of prisoners.

Security Council resolutions on the question of Angola are aimed mainly at advancing the Angolan peace process so as to bring about genuine national reconciliation in Angola, restore peace and stability in the country and enable its people to embark on the road of reconstruction and rehabilitation. The United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) has played an important role in securing humanitarian assistance, consolidating the cease-fire between the Angolan parties and facilitating national reconciliation. Therefore, the

Chinese delegation supports the Secretary-General's proposal to extend the mandate of UNAVEM III and will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

The Chinese Government has unswervingly supported the peace process in Angola from the beginning and deeply sympathizes with the Angolan people in the sufferings caused them by frequent wars. It has provided Angola with humanitarian assistance and production facilities. We will work together with the international community to contribute further to peace and stability in Angola.

Peace and stability are the foundations of nation-building in the interests of a people. It is in keeping with the long-term fundamental interests of the Angolan people, as well as with the common aspiration of the international community, that the two sides in Angola should resolve to lay down their arms and embark on the road to national reconciliation. We sincerely hope that the Angolan Government will continue to cooperate closely with the parties concerned in a joint effort towards the smooth advancement of the peace process in Angola. Angola is a richly endowed country with industrious people; achievement of its national reconciliation will give a major impetus to peace and stability in southern Africa as a whole.

The President: I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Nkgowe (Botswana): Let me at the outset congratulate you most warmly, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. My delegation has full knowledge of the diplomatic skills and leadership qualities you have demonstrated in your capacity as Chairman of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement. You can rest assured of the full support and cooperation of my delegation during your tenure of office. I also wish to extend a word of appreciation to the Permanent Representative of Honduras, His Excellency Mr. Gerardo Martínez Blanco, for the able manner in which he steered the work of the Security Council during the month of July.

The delegation of Botswana is grateful to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in the search for solutions to conflicts in Africa. We are particularly grateful for his briefing to the Security Council on his recent visit to Angola. We have no doubt that this visit, along with those he has made to other parts of Africa, has advanced the course of peace.

The Secretary-General's report, contained in document S/1995/588, registers progress in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. This has given us reason for optimism that the peace process in Angola is entering a phase in which we can nurture the hope that the process will soon be irreversible. We welcome with satisfaction the commitment of the Government of Angola and UNITA to the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and the efforts they have made to bring peace to their long-troubled country.

This commitment has enabled the international community to come to their assistance, as manifested by the deployment of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III), whose presence has helped to consolidate the cease-fire. We are particularly encouraged by the intensification of high-level contacts, which have made it possible for an agreement to be reached on a number of areas outlined in the report of the Secretary-General, including, to mention but a few:

> "... quartering of UNITA forces; return of FAA to barracks; incorporation of UNITA troops into the national armed forces; reopening of roads and free circulation of people and goods; [and] disarmament of the civilian population ...". (*S/1995/588, para. 16*)

My delegation is concerned that the mine clearance programme is proceeding very slowly. It is most unfortunate that the people of Angola, who have suffered so much over the years, should now be exposed to the hazard of land mines at a time when those whose lives were spared by the cease-fire can begin to nurture dreams of a better tomorrow. In this regard, we fully support the Secretary-General in his appeal to Member States to provide the necessary equipment for mine clearance.

The Secretary-General's report also deals with the economic and social aspects of the peace process in Angola. It is the view of my delegation that it is important to address these aspects in a manner that will create a firm foundation for durable peace. After many years of war, concerted efforts should be made to help the Angolans "beat their swords into ploughshares". The effects of the war are beyond the capacity of the people of Angola to tackle on their own. While we do not expect this to be part of a peace-keeping mandate, we certainly express the hope that the international community will continue to contribute substantially to the economic and social reconstruction of Angola. Southern Africa eagerly awaits the return of peace and stability to Angola, a

member of the Southern African Development Community, whose contribution to regional economic integration and cooperation is of the utmost importance.

The draft resolution before the Council contains several elements which my delegation is delighted to be associated with. The seventh through the eleventh preambular paragraphs succinctly capture the essence of developments in Angola and the Security Council's assessment of those developments. It is appropriate therefore that the Council should commend the Secretary-General, his team of dedicated personnel and the three observer States, Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States, for their contribution to the peace that is unfolding in Angola. It is also important that the Council should take note of the consolidation of the cease-fire, and of the fact that the peace process is entering a new and promising phase.

This is a clear acknowledgement of the progress that has been registered and an unambiguous message to the people of Angola that they have made a good start and that they should continue the good work they have started for the benefit of future generations of Angolans and for their subregion, as well as for the greater human family whose many beautiful faces are amply represented in UNAVEM III. There can be no doubt that much remains to be done to advance the process to a stage of irreversibility.

The operative paragraphs specifically address concrete issues highlighted in the Secretary-General's report. My delegation fully supports the overall spirit of the draft resolution, as it clearly goes to the heart of issues which are vital to the settlement of the Angolan conflict. As the Security Council extends the mandate of UNAVEM III for a six-month period, the peoples of southern Africa can look with hope and appreciation to the role the international community is playing to make their subregion a better place to live in. We look forward to yet another success story in the resolution of conflicts in southern Africa.

The President: I thank the representative of Botswana for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the outset, Sir, I should like to congratulate you sincerely on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. We are fully convinced that under your guidance the work of the Council this month will be successful. My delegation stands ready to cooperate fully with you and your delegation.

Similarly, my delegation would like to bid a warm welcome to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir John Weston, with whom we expect to work closely on the matters that come before the Council.

My delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his report on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). We welcome with great satisfaction the fact that the peace process in Angola is progressing, and that, due to the intensification of high-level contacts between members of the Government and UNITA, the mistrust among the parties has been diminishing. We consider that the agreement reached among the parties for a revised and accelerated timetable to implement the Lusaka Protocol is an encouraging development that will undoubtedly give fresh impetus to the peace process.

The report, however, indicates that there have been violations of the cease-fire, some of which can be attributed to delays in the separation of forces, acts of banditry, and a lack of discipline among the troops, none of which constitutes a significant violation of the peace. The report also indicates that other elements vital to the peace process, such as the separation of forces, the quartering of troops and mine-clearing, are being carried out slowly.

In that connection, my delegation considers that any delay in compliance with any of these essential elements could in one way or another affect the implementation of the peace process. In particular, as the report of the Secretary-General emphasizes,

> "mines continue to be a major hazard for the Angolan population and UNAVEM and humanitarian personnel". (*S/1995/588, para. 14*)

My delegation is gravely concerned at reports of renewed laying of mines by the parties. We therefore appeal to the parties to put an immediate and final end to these activities, which inflict such damage on the civilian population.

It is also necessary to hasten the establishment of quartering areas for the demobilization of UNITA troops, the withdrawal of the Angolan armed forces to their barracks, the strengthening of the logistic infrastructure for the unified national army, the exchange of prisoners and the repatriation of mercenaries. In this connection, we recognize the importance of the talks the parties held at Luanda in the second half of June this year, at which

they considered questions that are basic for the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.

As to the humanitarian aspects, my delegation has duly noted that the humanitarian situation in Angola continues to improve as a direct consequence of the peace process and the increased United Nations presence in that country. None the less, we are concerned about the economic and social situation in Angola. The Secretary-General's data on health, malnutrition, infant mortality, maimed persons, and displaced persons and refugees in Angola are truly alarming. The situation is a challenge to the international community. Hence, my delegation supports all efforts by United Nations programmes and agencies concerned with the economic and social development of Angola, and we praise the efforts of the Government of Angola, with the support of the United Nations Development Programme and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, to convene a round-table meeting in September 1995 to consider what is needed for the economic and social reconstruction of the country.

My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, the three observer States to the Angolan peace process, and the personnel of UNAVEM for their efforts to make possible compliance with the Lusaka Protocol and to consolidate the cease-fire and the peace process in that country. Similarly, we wish to thank Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations for their contributions to meet the humanitarian needs of the people of Angola. Finally, we urge the Angolan parties to cooperate fully with the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Angola with a view to enabling it to fulfil its mandates and, in general, the objectives of the Lusaka Protocol.

In that light, my delegation supports the Secretary-General's recommendation that the mandate of UNAVEM III be extended for an additional six months, until 8 February 1996, and will vote in favour of the draft resolution on this item.

The President: I thank the representative of Honduras for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): At the outset, Sir, allow me to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. Knowing you personally, and knowing your vast diplomatic experience and skills, we are fully confident that we are in good hands and that your presidency will yield successful results.

I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Martínez Blanco of Honduras, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the Council's affairs last month.

Today once again my delegation would like to extend a warm welcome to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom. We assure him and his hard-working delegation of our full cooperation at all times.

With regard to the question under consideration, my delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). We find its detailed analysis of the current state of affairs in Angola very informative and indicative of the course of action which this Council should be pursuing at this moment in time. Of particular importance are the Secretary-General's recommendations in paragraph 40 of the report.

We note with satisfaction that the Angolan peace process has continued to make steady progress. We welcome the recent positive developments reflected in the Secretary-General's report. We welcome, in particular, the successful meeting in Lusaka on 6 May 1995 between President Dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi. We are pleased to note that the meeting has given further impetus to the Angolan peace process. It has already led to an improvement of the atmosphere of trust between the two parties and to the intensification of the high-level contact between them.

However, there are a few shortcomings to which the Angolan parties should pay due attention and which they should address in an effective and timely manner if the peace process in their country is to reach a successful conclusion. These include the slow pace of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, particularly in the area of troop-disengagement, demining and the establishment of the quartering areas. It is also vital that the parties continue to demonstrate the political will and commitment necessary for the achievement of peace and national reconciliation through strict and timely compliance with the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant Security Council resolutions, with a view to achieving durable peace, security, and economic and social development in their country.

The draft resolution before us, extending the mandate of the UNAVEM III for another six months, sets out a fully justified course of action given the situation on the ground and the progress achieved so far

in the implementation of the Angolan peace process. It demonstrates the international community's commitment to continuing its support to the Angolan people in their search for peace and national reconciliation. It represents a vote of confidence in their willingness and ability to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in their country.

In conclusion, I would like to express my delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to his Special Representative in Angola, to the three observer States of the Angolan peace process, to all the States of the Organization of African Unity, and to the personnel of UNAVEM III under the able command of Major-General Garuba for their invaluable and effective contribution to finding a just and lasting solution to the conflict in Angola. We are pleased to note that their concerted efforts have borne fruit.

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian)*: First, I congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council and wish you every success in the performance of your responsible functions.

We are grateful to the Ambassador of Honduras for his very skilful direction of the Council's work during the month of July.

We should also like to welcome the new Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir John Weston. I wish to assure him that the Russian delegation is ready to continue to cooperate with the delegation of the United Kingdom.

The Russian delegation wishes to express its profound gratification at the progress in the peace-settlement process in Angola, which has now entered a qualitatively new and encouraging stage. We are delighted that the Government of Angola and UNITA are demonstrating a commitment to the spirit of the Lusaka Protocol and an increased degree of cooperation in its implementation.

At the same time, we think it is important to remind the parties in Angola of the need to observe fully the timetable for the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, first and foremost making up for the delay in the disengagement of troops and their quartering and in the formation of a single army and in demining.

We are gratified to note that the steady deployment of military and police observers and United Nations troops, including a Russian military contingent, has helped to consolidate the cease-fire. In this connection, we emphasize that the operation in Angola acquires particular importance in the light of the difficulties that have recently been encountered by the United Nations in a number of other hot spots. We believe that the positive progress in the process of an Angolan settlement needs to be maintained as an encouraging example of United Nations peacemaking.

We support the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) to 8 February 1996, as envisaged in the draft resolution. We also wholeheartedly support the appeal to the international community contained in the draft resolution to provide aid and assistance to Angola's efforts in the economic and social fields, with the aim of restoring and maintaining sound and stable conditions for development.

Russia, acting in coordination with the other members of the troika and in close contact with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, will continue to do everything possible to promote the success of the peace process in Angola, on the basis of the Lusaka Protocol. It is our belief that the draft resolution we are considering today in the Security Council is fully responsive to the tasks of strengthening the peace process in Angola, and the Russian delegation will support it.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to me.

I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/646.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1008 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): First, at this meeting of the Council which is taking place at the beginning of August, I should like to thank Ambassador Martínez Blanco for the impeccable way in which he conducted the Council's work in the month of July. To you, Mr. President, go our greetings and our best wishes for success. I am sure that, with your remarkable experience, the Council under your guidance will perform its duties in the most excellent manner.

Let me also welcome again, in this public meeting, the new Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir John Weston.

Italy has just cast its vote in favour of the resolution by which the Council has extended the mandate of the UNAVEM III mission in Angola until 8 February 1996. We voted in favour because the resolution is well balanced, touches on all the essential points needed to ensure the progress of the peace-keeping operation there, and strongly supports the action of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye.

In these days that are particularly difficult for the international community, it is indeed a source of satisfaction to note that the peace process in Angola has entered a road that, we hope, will lead to a definitive solution to a 20-year-old civil war.

There are growing indications that the parties are committed, now more than ever, to solving the remaining problems. After the historic Lusaka meeting between the President of Angola, Mr. Eduardo Dos Santos, and the leader of UNITA, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, the contacts under way between the parties demonstrate a renewed commitment to the national reconciliation process.

In this regard, the decisions reached by both sides on an accelerated timetable for the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, to make up for past delays, are very meaningful and welcome.

The deployment of the UNAVEM peace-keeping mission that is now under day has made a fundamental contribution to such developments. We are especially grateful to the countries that have deployed "blue helmets" in Angola. But, of course, what is and remains fundamental is the resolve to conclude the peace process shown by both parties, to which we should like to convey, through our colleague Ambassador Afonso Van Dunem "Mbinda", who is sitting with us today, our sincere appreciation and congratulations.

The positive aspects of the Angolan situation, as illustrated by the Secretary-General's report, are now far greater than the negative ones. These negative aspects should not, however, be underestimated. In particular, some violations of the cease-fire are still occurring; progress continues to be slow in troop disengagement and the establishment of quartering areas; demining is still not proceeding at the necessary speed.

On the subject of demining, we all know that the largest number of mines in the world is today to be found, unfortunately, in Angola. Every day dozens of innocent people are killed or maimed by these mines. Their presence still constitutes a serious problem for the activities of UNAVEM III also. They are a fundamental obstacle to the economic recovery of Angola, which should be the top priority not only for the Government but also for the international community once the peace process has been consolidated. In this regard, let me say once again that Italy, both directly and through the European Union, is already meeting its obligations.

Finally, the Italian Government has taken due note of the Secretary-General's appeal for financial support of the demobilization and reintegration programme. We are fully aware that any delays in these activities might lead again to dangerous tensions in the country. We shall not fail to make our contribution to success in this area also.

The President: I thank the representative of Italy for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Ladsous (France) (*interpretation from French*): I should like, first, to express to you, Sir, our compliments and our wishes for all success on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. I should like also to thank Ambassador Martínez Blanco and his delegation very warmly for the excellent job they did while occupying the presidency during the month of July.

My delegation voted in favour of resolution 1008 (1995), just adopted, which extends the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) for six months, until 8 February 1996.

Since the beginnings of the United Nations involvement in Angola, the Security Council has

consistently supported a process that originally appeared to be almost impossible to conclude successfully. Today, the situation appears in a completely different light: the cooperation of the parties and the trust that has developed between the principal negotiators give us reason once again to hope that there will be a happy outcome to the Angolan conflict.

The meeting between the President of Angola and the head of UNITA will have been a historic and decisive stage in this process. We hope that the contacts between the two former belligerents will continue and intensify. Important progress has been achieved with respect to the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. What is important now is for the Angolans to do everything necessary to ensure that all the commitments that have been undertaken on both sides are implemented.

This applies to all areas: first, political matters with the integration into the State apparatus of former members of UNITA; secondly, military matters with respect to the setting up of a national army, which will have to be preceded by the withdrawal and quartering of troops on both sides; and finally, economic, social and humanitarian matters, which comprise, *inter alia*, respect for human rights with the return to civilian life of thousands of combatants who have known no occupation other than armed struggle.

Clearly, it is no less essential that the Angolans should feel right now that things are changing. Angola has the unenviable reputation of being the most heavily mined country on the African continent. The French Government regards tasks related to demining as a matter of the first priority, for freedom of movement and safety for the entire Angolan people must be restored rapidly.

By requesting the Secretary-General to carry out full deployment of UNAVEM III, the international community is restating today its desire to support Angola to the very end of the peace process, which, logically, should conclude with the restoration of democracy and progress. May our hopes not be disappointed.

The President: I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States of America): I should like, first, to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the Council presidency for the month of August. We know that we will be in good and wise hands. We would also like to express our great appreciation to the Permanent Representative of Honduras and his delegation for their excellent stewardship of the Council during the month of July.

I should like to join other representatives by extending my delegation's welcome to the United Kingdom's new Permanent Representative. We offer him our very best wishes and our hopes for great success as he takes over his new responsibilities at the United Nations.

The Council has acted today to continue an effort which is succeeding — step by step and more slowly in some areas than we had hoped, but succeeding surely and steadily. My delegation strongly endorses the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) to continue its support of the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and the resolutions of this Council. Several factors have contributed to the successful progress to date, not the least of which has been the regular personal contact between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi. We commend those two leaders on the impetus they have given to the peace process and encourage them to continue in this constructive vein.

We also commend the excellent works of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, and all those associated with UNAVEM III for bringing the peace process to this hopeful stage.

The United States has been a firm supporter of the Lusaka accord and believes that this process has placed Angola on the road to lasting peace. Over the past two years we have provided more than $200 million in humanitarian and emergency assistance in the form of food aid and medical supplies. The United States wishes, in cooperation with the United Nations, to help Angola to develop its long-term economic potential and reduce its reliance upon emergency assistance.

We are concerned, however, that road conditions are inhibiting the deployment of United Nations peace-keepers to Angola and are slowing the progress of the peace process. About 45 per cent of the bridges in Angola were damaged or destroyed during the civil war. We must also be mindful of the possibility of increases in mine accidents as humanitarian-aid convoys begin using roads ahead of mine-clearing operations. Destroyed bridges and a number of mined areas have already slowed movements of peace-keepers. In order to help to surmount these obstacles, the United States has made an

offer of bridging material to UNAVEM III, in addition to the assistance for mine clearance that we have pledged.

Land-mines have been a deterrent to more rapid progress in accomplishing UNAVEM's goals. The completion of scheduled deployment depends on having clear and passable routes. The Secretary-General has called upon States Members of the United Nations to aid ongoing demining efforts in Angola. United States support for mine-clearance and mine-awareness activities is an important component of our efforts. At the international meeting on mine clearance, held in Geneva in July, my delegation announced a contribution of more than $7.5 million for demining in Angola this year. This figure includes cash and equipment to support demining by non-governmental organizations and the United Nations. These funds effectively double all current demining spending in Angola.

Some skilled non-governmental organizations have already been successfully engaged in demining, but their activities are insufficient for the number of mines and the size of the territory. The Angolan armed forces and UNITA must be involved to the greatest extent possible in clearing the areas they have mined.

The Angolan Government and UNITA both have acknowledged the seriousness of this problem. They plan to cooperate through the Angolan Central Mine-Action Office. The Government of Angola has already allocated $3 million for demining, and UNITA is becoming more involved in national demining planning — a trend that we hope will continue.

United States assistance is designed to aid the peace process immediately by facilitating the deployment of UNAVEM III troops. In the longer term, United States assistance will also help to clear crop lands to reduce the need for food aid and will give the Angolans the ability to conduct demining operations themselves for the long time required to eradicate this threat from the land.

The assistance provided by the United States is merely a start when we consider the magnitude of the problems facing Angola. We look to other United Nations donor States to support demining and reconstruction activities through non-governmental organizations, through contributions to UNAVEM III and through donations to the United Nations Unit for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance to Angola. We will continue to coordinate closely with the United Nations and with other donor States to build up the Angolan Government's ability to continue mine-clearance operations and other efforts at reconstruction and development for the long term.

The success of the peace process will require the concerted efforts of the Angolan Government, UNITA, the United Nations, donor Governments and Angola's friends and neighbours. We hope that our combined efforts can contribute to a lasting peace in Angola, and we appeal to other States to contribute funds, equipment and personnel towards this very worthy goal.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words he addressed to me.

Sir John Weston (United Kingdom): Speaking for the first time in a formal meeting of the Security Council, may I begin by joining others in welcoming you, Sir, to your duties as President of the Council and expressing my delegation's readiness to work closely with you during your period in office. May I also take the opportunity to express the thanks of my delegation to Ambassador Martínez Blanco for his very effective conduct of business during the month of July. May I also, on my own personal account, express thanks to all the colleagues around the table who have been good enough to express words of personal welcome to me.

In voting in favour of this resolution, my delegation warmly welcomes the progress which has been made so far in consolidation of the cease-fire in Angola and implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. Much remains to be done, but Angola is now closer to peace than seemed possible even a short time ago. I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the achievements of the Secretary-General, whose useful visit to Angola last month helped take the peace process forward, to his Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, to the personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) and to those in the Government of Angola and UNITA who are actively involved in carrying forward the peace process.

The meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi on 6 May 1995 was a milestone in this process. It is essential that the momentum generated by that meeting be maintained at all levels. The parties need to demonstrate their commitment both in high-level talks and in action on the ground. We attach the greatest importance to the avoidance of delays in the crucial areas of troop disengagement, demining and the quartering of former combatants. These are the essential, practical

bases for a lasting peace, and it is vital that work on them now be carried forward promptly.

It is a source of satisfaction to my delegation that the British logistics battalion with UNAVEM III has been able to play its part in establishing the infrastructure for the Mission's deployment. Within UNAVEM III, the battalion and the civilian contractors who are to replace it are working together to ensure a smooth hand-over. The first infantry battalions are in place. It is important that conditions be established as soon as possible for the full deployment of the remaining infantry battalions. Further delays would carry with them risks, and everything possible must be done to avoid these.

I should like to make two further points. First, the British Government has played a major part in humanitarian relief in Angola. I should like to stress the importance we attach to UNITA and the Government of Angola continuing to cooperate fully with the international humanitarian relief effort. Secondly, I should like to take this opportunity to welcome the Secretary-General's proposal for an expansion in the human rights component of UNAVEM III. The additional human rights observers will have an important role to play in helping to ensure that basic rights are respected. Their presence will underline our common goal of achieving a stable, prosperous and democratic future for the people of Angola.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Eitel (Germany): Allow me first to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I want also to address my delegation's thanks to the Permanent Representative of Honduras, Ambassador Martínez Blanco, for his guidance last month. Of course, we also wish to welcome the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom; we are looking forward to close cooperation with him.

Germany has just voted in favour of the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) until 8 February 1996.

In the view of my Government, the groundwork for the successful implementation of the Lusaka Protocol has been laid. As a consequence, the Secretary-General has been able to proceed with the full deployment of the infantry units of UNAVEM III. We hope that all units will be operational by the end of this month.

My Government, however, realizes that much work remains to be done. In the political area we hope that very soon a second meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi will take place to finalize the composition of the new Government. That meeting should also put an end to the current incidents of non-respect of the cease-fire and should lead to the substantial involvement of both parties in the future political life of Angola. Both parties have to realize that there is no room for competition to obtain a better position for the future.

The disarmament and quartering of demobilized units should follow swiftly. A viable compromise has to be reached concerning the future composition of the armed forces. For those who will not be part of the armed forces, alternatives should be made available.

Again, the international community will have very little understanding if parties try to increase their relative advantage at the expense of the peace process itself. In this context, my Government is very much concerned about reports of renewed mine-laying. This will not only delay further the attempts to clear the roads for UNAVEM III; it seems also to be a futile attempt to stem the tide of the peace process. Because of the special importance of mine-clearing for the deployment of UNAVEM III and for the future of Angola in general, especially in terms of its economic development, my country is providing personnel and material for this purpose.

To summarize, we believe that the integration of both parties into the future political life of Angola remains the cornerstone of a peaceful settlement of the civil war. UNAVEM III can assist. But only if the legitimate interests of all concerned are respected will we see democracy and peace in Angola.

The President: I thank the representative of Germany for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mrs. Cañas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the outset, I wish to express my delegation's pleasure at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the work of the Council and to offer your our fullest cooperation in the execution of your duties, which, given your abilities, we are sure will be successful.

We would also like to congratulate Ambassador Gerardo Martínez Blanco and his entire delegation and to thank them for their outstanding work during his presidency in the month of July. We also wish to

welcome the new representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Sir John Weston.

My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for his written and oral reports on developments in the situation in Angola, which have been invaluable in our deliberations on the subject.

We note with great pleasure the progress achieved in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. The meeting between President dos Santos and UNITA's leader, Mr. Savimbi, was definitely an important milestone that, in addition to contributing to confidence-building, demonstrated a significant change in the parties' attitudes regarding their commitment to the peace process. We commend the Government of Angola and UNITA for the progress that has been achieved. We hope that this new climate of confidence will strengthen and grow and that the new timetable agreed upon for the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol will be respected and met.

In the resolution just adopted, the Security Council acknowledges the efforts of the Angolan leaders and renews the mandate of UNAVEM III for six months, thus demonstrating that the international community has regained trust in the process and continues to stand ready to contribute to its successful conclusion.

A great deal still remains to be done and various problems remain to be solved. Operative paragraphs 4 and 7 of the resolution set forth the principal areas in which the parties must redouble their efforts to move ahead without further delays in the peace process.

The people of Angola must resume their normal pace of life throughout the territory as soon as possible, engaging in the planting of the fields, education, health and well-being — and all of this must include the reinsertion of the former combatants into civilian life. Here, we note that it is essential to continue and increase the assistance and cooperation of the international community, as well as support for the mine-clearance programmes and participation of human rights observers in the field.

We hope that the good conditions prevailing in Angola will continue and solidify, in order to ensure full deployment of all the infantry units of UNAVEM III as soon as possible.

The Republic of Argentina has decided to contribute to this United Nations operation a naval squadron composed of three high-speed patrol boats from the Argentine fleet. This new contribution is in keeping with the importance which my Government attaches to the peaceful evolution of the Angolan situation and which it has already demonstrated by its uninterrupted participation in UNAVEM I and II, with military observers and civilian police.

The Argentine Government reiterates that the Government of Angola and UNITA must respect and guarantee, to a maximum degree and at all times, both formally and materially, the security and protection of all international personnel in Angola and the fulfilment of their mandates.

Finally, we hope that the reviews of the situation in Angola to be made every two months by the Security Council on the basis of the reports of the Secretary-General will confirm the present positive trend in this process and the resolution of the still outstanding problems. The people of Angola deserve no less.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina for the kind words she addressed to me.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation takes this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. We are convinced that the work of the Council, in working for peace and security throughout the world, will benefit from your wisdom and your wealth of experience. You can count on my delegation to cooperate with you to the greatest extent possible.

We take this opportunity also to thank your predecessor, Mr. Gerardo Martínez Blanco, the Permanent Representative of Honduras, for the sure-footed and competent way in which he conducted the work of the Security Council during the month of July.

My delegation would like to welcome the new Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom and to pledge him our sincere cooperation.

With respect to the resolution which my delegation has just voted in favour of, we would like first to thank the Secretary-General for his report on UNAVEM III dated 17 July 1995. My delegation is always pleased when reports like this one, with all of the impact it may have, are presented in a positive light, without sacrificing the truth.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Blondin Beye, for the fruitful and delicate work he continues to do in Angola.

My delegation also congratulates the Secretary-General on the attention he has been paying to Africa by visiting Angola as well as other African countries which are going through a difficult period in their history. Indeed, it is in misfortune that we find out who our true friends are. However, it is likewise true that friendship is neither a temporary nor a transient thing. This is why we believe that this honoured visitor should become a spokesman for Africa, so that the entire world can better understand the countries he visited. Condemnations must become advice and brotherhood must be accompanied by solidarity.

My delegation welcomes the progress achieved by the Government of Angola and UNITA since the adoption of Security Council resolution 976 (1995). We regard as positive the contacts which have been made and continue to be made between the various Angolan parties to resolve their problems and find common ground. We encourage such contacts. It is true that any lasting solution can come only from the Angolans themselves. Any outside help can only provide a structure and framework to facilitate reconciliation between these brothers.

This is why the Rwandan delegation is convinced that national reconciliation goes hand in hand with national reconstruction. Successful demobilization of the military personnel on both sides is possible only if there are options to be offered to the demobilized troops.

My delegation believes that mine clearance is a vital operation for the survival of the population and one of the most important prerequisites for the resumption of the reconstruction of the country.

With respect to the Angolan police, which is denying access to the civilian police, my delegation recognizes that Angola, as a sovereign country, has the right not to expose its police to external elements, and that it is also within its right to organize itself as it sees fit, as any sovereign country does, to ensure safety and security within its borders. It is clear that the United Nations forces sent to the country are there not to oversee or to control the host country but, rather, to assist it.

With respect to the proliferation of weapons, it is regrettable that the central African region has increasingly become an area teeming with weaponry. It is well known that no country in that area manufactures weapons, but the arms merchants do not hesitate to provide arms to criminals to make it easier for them to hoist themselves to power or to keep themselves there. My delegation is convinced that collecting arms from the population is not enough. Rather, the problem should be attacked at its roots: that is, we should denounce those countries which illegally provide weapons to Africa. This profiteering to the detriment of Africa is becoming more and more disturbing, particularly since in some cases those who provided the weapons in the first place are the same ones who come to organize their collection or who send representatives specializing in human rights.

Regarding the financial aspects, it is interesting to note from the report that the cost of UNAVEM III operations is out of all proportion to the cost of the forthcoming programme for the reconstruction of the country which is to be presented at the round table to be held in September. UNAVEM III costs $25 million per month and the round table projects a cost of $620 million, and nothing specifies how long this money is to last or how soon the funds will be available. It is easier to understand now why the African countries tend to be on the road to under-development. Funding which relates to militarization, tribal wars and genocides is very easily put together, whereas funding for development is virtually denied to the African countries.

It is true that the international community is tired of helping Africa, but it is our hope that they will take a look at the direction in which the assistance goes. They will find that this assistance does not necessarily go where it is supposed to go. The international community may be tired, but it is high time for it to ask itself whom it is tired of aiding, and why.

After 30 years of war, the international community has the duty to help Angola not only to achieve reconciliation but also, and above all, to find the necessary and adequate funds to ensure its national reconstruction.

The President: I thank the representative of Rwanda for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Indonesia.

My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution before us today to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) for

a period of six months. Extending the Mission will help Angola continue to work towards solutions to its difficulties and will continue to bring the nation closer to a lasting state of security and peace.

My delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his informative report on the progress made by UNAVEM III in facilitating the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. We were encouraged to read about the many accomplishments of the Mission, which have created a solid framework for the reconstruction of Angola. We were pleased to learn that many aspects of the humanitarian situation have improved, and that services by humanitarian agencies, including much needed medical care, have expanded to cover previously inaccessible areas. Furthermore, the initiation of the implementation of agreements for the resettlement of some 40,000 displaced persons, and the demobilization and integration of the armed forces, are indeed important steps towards peace in that war-torn country. We expect that owing to the success of past emergency relief there will be a shift in focus from emergency relief to the rehabilitation of the nation.

These and other successes have been facilitated by the regular and continuing contact between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Mr. Jonas Savimbi. We encourage the continuation of cooperation and dialogue to further the effective and timely implementation of the peace process, which will bring lasting peace and reconciliation to Angola. It is essential to promote mutual trust and confidence so as to ensure the parties' continued commitment to solving the challenges that still lie ahead.

Despite the many advances of the Mission, my delegation was disheartened to learn that the pace of progress in some areas remains slow, due partly to a lack of adequate resources. Although the recent agreements between the parties to accelerate the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol have demonstrated political will, we must underline the importance of international assistance so that the Mission can accelerate the pace of its plans to address Angola's needs adequately. One of the most crucial tasks is an acceleration of demining efforts. Mine clearance not only is of the utmost importance to the deployment of peace-keeping forces in all regions, but is indispensable for the long-term reconstruction of the economy.

We also believe that there is room for improvement in terms of the security of the delivery of humanitarian aid. Attacks along humanitarian routes, although isolated and rare, have resulted in some civilian casualties, and have hampered the delivery of much-needed supplies. We echo the call for the parties to ensure the safe passage of humanitarian supplies.

Although there has been an overall increase in the level of safety and security, my delegation believes that the attacks on humanitarian-assistance routes are evidence that there are still some outstanding security-related problems. We note with concern the incident in which a United Nations military observer sustained serious injuries as a result of an ambush by unidentified gunmen. We cannot overstate the need for all parties to respect the safety, security and freedom of movement of all civilians and United Nations staff in Angola. Another security concern is the monthly number of cease-fire violations, which has remained constant from May to June. Although none of the violations constituted a major breach of the peace in the eyes of the Mission, the fact that the number of violations remained steady is an indication that, despite progress in other areas, acts of violence continue to play a role in Angola.

One person who has certainly furthered the goals of the Mission is the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General to Angola, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, whom we would like to thank for the tireless and skilful diplomacy he has repeatedly demonstrated in striving towards a solution to Angola's difficulties. We also pay tribute to all of the Mission personnel, who have been instrumental in the consolidation of the cease-fire and in many other achievements in the overall process of restoring lasting peace and stability in Angola.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I call on the Permanent Representative of Angola.

Mr. Van Dunem "Mbinda" (Angola): I wish to apologize for the delay in addressing the Council. It was caused by the preparation of translations of my statement into the working languages of the United Nations. I shall deliver my statement in Portuguese; I trust that the translations into the working languages of the United Nations will convey the thinking and ideas of my Government and my people.

Spoke in Portuguese (English text furnished by the delegation).

We always feel honoured to address this important body, the Security Council; this is especially true now

that the peace process in my country has entered a crucial and decisive phase.

Allow me to begin, Sir, by congratulating you personally and on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Angola on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I also extend my congratulations to your predecessor, the representative of Honduras, for the hard work he carried out during his term.

I take this opportunity also to reaffirm the deep appreciation of the people and the Government of Angola for the tireless diplomatic efforts pursued by the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, by his Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, and by the three observer States, as well as for the special role played by the Government of Zambia, and particularly by His Excellency President Frederick Chiluba, whose contribution has been a key factor in the dialogue that is taking place between Angolans.

The prospects for the making of a final peace and for political and economic stability — goals which the Angolan Government has pursued for nearly 20 years, through enormous efforts, and for the sake of which it has made countless sacrifices — increasingly appear to be within reach. Indeed, when the Council adopted resolution 976 (1995) authorizing the current peace-keeping operation in Angola and the subsequent deployment of United Nations troops, it did so in the conviction that the time had come to put a final end to the Angolan conflict and to push for peace and national reconciliation.

The Council's authorization of one of the largest and most expensive peace-keeping operations ever undertaken — it will cost about $400 million per year — is revealing of the complexity and scope of the process under way for the settlement of the Angolan conflict, as well as of the international community's clear commitment to the success of the Mission, which we would like to see proceed in an increasingly dynamic and effective manner. At the same time, we do not underestimate, as some did in the past, the negative factors that could derail the process.

This step taken by the international community following the signing by the Government and UNITA of the Lusaka Protocol, the new instrument setting forth the legal framework for the country's transition from war to peace, gave a major boost to the peace process and helped curtail initial pessimism — as did the positive unfolding of such a difficult and complex process, shrouded at first in a climate of deeply held mutual mistrust and hostility rooted in a long, destructive war.

The presence and activities of United Nations "blue helmets" on the ground, especially after the arrival of the first infantry units from Uruguay, India, Zimbabwe and Brazil, have generally permitted the maintenance of détente and the observance in practice of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. Nevertheless, the full discharge of the mandate of the United Nations force will be effective only if it continues to be provided with the necessary adequate means for that purpose and if its activities are extended to all areas of the country's territory envisaged under the "Acordos de Paz" and within the spirit of the agreement between the United Nations and the Government of Angola.

To that end, the full deployment of UNAVEM III troops, which is scheduled to be completed this month, will help deter any conceivable attempts to undermine the Peace Accords, even though we are aware that the ultimate guarantee of their success rests on political will, a true desire for peace, and the good faith of the signatories.

Despite the serious difficulties that have cropped up in the implementation of the Lusaka Accords, the Angolan Government considers that, on balance, the progress made so far has been positive. Still, we do not wish to overlook certain dangerous factors, which I shall shortly touch upon.

On the positive side, we note the cessation of large-scale offensive military operations, the disengagement of the troops on the ground and the beginning of the clearing of land mines from some of the main roadways. As a result of this, a climate of relative tranquillity has been established in several areas. This has allowed for the free circulation of people and goods, and the return of many displaced people to their original localities.

In the political arena, my Government has begun a direct dialogue with the leadership of UNITA, which has proved to be effective as a way of speeding up the implementation of the various aspects of the pledges made in Lusaka.

The main effect of the recent meeting between His Excellency President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the leader of UNITA was a reduction in the initial mutual distrust that affected the unfolding of the process. My

Government will continue to do its utmost to implement the commitments made at that meeting.

Despite the important progress that has been made in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, which is reflected in the report submitted to this Council as well as in the results of the Secretary-General's recent visit to Angola, some dangerous factors that seriously concern my Government still persist.

The implementation of the Lusaka Protocol is five months behind schedule. The key lag has to do with the fact that so far the UNITA military forces have not been confined to quarters and that there has been a consequent delay in the final formation of the country's single national army.

Isolated military actions here and there, the renewed mining by UNITA of areas from which the mines had earlier been cleared, the kidnapping of defenceless individuals: all these are issues that are still on the agenda of the Joint Commission.

These and other issues that hinder the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol need to be solved with the utmost urgency, since that would effectively dispel the risk of military confrontations and of a relapse into war, with very unpredictable consequences. In this context, it is worth recalling that so long as UNITA's forces are not disarmed and confined to quarters, and so long as the formation of the single army is not completed, the implementation of the subsequent phases of the peace process, notably the integration of UNITA officials into the National Unity Government, will continue to be postponed. At the same time, this opens up the possibility of a proliferation of cease-fire violations.

Seeking to accelerate the conclusion of the formation of the national army, we agreed to the principle of the full incorporation of UNITA's forces into the Angolan armed forces. That will increase the number of their initial personnel to 120,000 men, following which there is to be demobilization of the surplus troops in a more appropriate manner, until a total number of 90,000 is reached, as set forth in the Lusaka Protocol. This is a gigantic task, aimed at both making up for the delay in the process and preventing the creation of rogue armies and the acts of banditry that could result from a hasty demobilization without the safeguarding of the full social reintegration of the surplus troops. In order for this wide-ranging goal to be achieved, it will be essential that the international community provide appropriate and multifarious assistance, since Angola's current economic and financial situation prevents my Government from being able to shoulder the attendant costs on its own.

My Government is also concerned with the psychological spectre of the climate of tension that persists in some regions as a result of military incidents, such as attacks, sabotage operations and the laying of mines, and the continuation of UNITA's hostile propaganda.

We continue to exert efforts to put an immediate end to such actions, which, while not imperilling the peace process yet, represent threats that it would be better to avoid entirely. The slow pace of the release of the prisoners of war is another issue of great concern. Immediately after that process began, the Government freed more than 200 prisoners, while UNITA released only seven. In the light of that, we have been forced to halt the process until UNITA changes its attitude. In this regard, there is an essential role that the International Committee of the Red Cross can play in helping to clarify the situation and overcome this impasse.

At the outset of UNAVEM III's new mandate, particular attention should be paid to the removal of the causes of the delays in the implementation of the Peace Accords. No opportunities should be given for the occurrence of premeditated delays aimed at evading the obligations imposed by the Protocol, because that would violate both its letter and its spirit.

In order to help shape the new reality created by the peace prospects and to cement national reconciliation, the Angolan Parliament has recently given its permission for the specific revision of the Angolan Constitution, in order to accommodate the leader of UNITA in one of the two offices of Vice-President that will be part of the Angolan political system. With the adoption of this measure, an attempt was made to adapt the configuration of the current political order to the evolution of the political process in Angola in matters that pertain to the organization of political power, while defining the hallmarks of these changes.

Thus, the current Angolan political order will vest its powers in the following bodies and institutions: the President of the Republic, who is concurrently the head of the executive branch; two Vice-Presidents of the Republic, who will exercise the powers, the duties and the responsibilities assigned to them; the National Assembly; the Government; the Prime Minister, who

assists the President of the Republic in running the executive branch and is politically responsible for the actions of the Government before the Parliament under a standing delegation of powers from the President of the Republic; the courts; and the office of the Attorney-General of the Republic. Those will be the constitutional bodies, and I wished to mention them.

Within the context of these constitutional measures, the Parliament also decided to bring to a conclusion the process of the presidential elections, by stipulating that the candidate who received the greatest number of votes in the presidential election held on 29 and 30 September 1992 was elected, and that the two offices of Vice-President of the Republic be held by the political parties that received more than 30 per cent of the votes in the parliamentary elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992. Thus, the party that received the greatest number of votes, the MPLA, will designate, from within the ranks of its leaders, a Vice-President, who, among other assigned responsibilities, will substitute for the President of the Republic during his absence or any other temporary impediment, while the other Vice-President is to be designated by UNITA, as the party that received the second greatest number of votes.

I cannot help but underscore the great importance and the extensive scope of this measure, which is only the latest in a series of other measures that were enacted earlier, such as the amnesty for crimes committed during the crisis that followed the elections. Suffice it to say that it was a result of a legislative initiative by the party of the majority, the MPLA, and its President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, that this gesture of great openness and political tolerance, inspired by a spirit of acceptance and magnanimity, enabled the Parliament to overcome an issue that seemed insurmountable.

Thus, the necessary political and psychological conditions have been created to enable all Angolans to move on towards peace, democracy and multifaceted development.

Settlement of the Angolan conflict will make an important contribution to stability and security in southern Africa and to the exploitation of the region's vast economic potential and its greater integration. Moreover, it will allow the resources that are currently devoted to humanitarian assistance to be reallocated for development or to other regions of the world with pressing needs.

The southern region of our continent has been endowed with bountiful human and natural resources that will benefit its peoples and the world at large once they are put fully to use towards achieving the goals of development.

In closing, I should like to express, on behalf of the people and Government of Angola, profound gratitude to the Governments of Argentina and Algeria for the generous, unstinting service of their heroic soldiers who gave their lives for the cause of peace while performing their noble mission in Angola.

We also wish to express our appreciation to the Government of the United Kingdom for the work of its military contingent, which will soon conclude its mission in Angola. To the Governments of the countries that have provided infantry troops, as well as to those that have integrated the military observers and civil component of UNAVEM III, we reiterate our deep appreciation.

And I cannot fail to note our gratitude to all Governments, to the organizations of the United Nations system and to the non-governmental organizations which, moved by a keen sense of human solidarity, have been extending humanitarian assistance to the Angolan people.

Finally, let me express our appreciation to all those who helped to draw up the resolution that has been adopted today.

(spoke in English)

I want, on behalf of the Government of Angola, to thank all those who have spoken at this meeting of the Security Council. The issues of Angola have been covered very thoroughly. The resolution that has been adopted, which provides for an extension of UNAVEM's mandate for six months, is indeed a gesture of confidence in the people of Angola.

The President: I thank the representative of Angola for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3563

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3563rd Meeting
Thursday, 10 August 1995, 3 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Wisnumurti	(Indonesia)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Nkgowe
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Eitel
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in Croatia

Report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 981 (1995) (S/1995/650)

Letter dated 7 August 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/666)

95-85820 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Croatia

Report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 981 (1995) (S/1995/650)

Letter dated 7 August 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/666)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the side of the Council chamber.

The President: I have also received a request dated 10 August 1995 from Ambassador Dragomir Djokic to address the Council. With the consent of the Council, I would propose to invite him to address the Council in the course of the discussion of the item before it.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 981 (1995), document S/1995/650, and the letter dated 7 August 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/1995/666.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/676, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1995/658 and S/1995/660, letters dated 7 August 1995 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1995/656 and S/1995/663, letters dated 4 and 6 August 1995, respectively, from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1995/662 and S/1995/664, letters dated 6 and 7 August 1995, respectively, from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1995/670, letter dated 8 August 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1995/672, letter dated 8 August 1995 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1995/675, letter dated 9 August 1995 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the representative of Croatia, on whom I now call.

Mr. Nobilo (Croatia): Allow me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on Indonesia's assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to assure you of my delegation's full cooperation on the many important issues currently before the Council.

I should also like to extend my congratulations to the delegation of Honduras on the exemplary way in which it coordinated the work of the Council during the month of July.

After four years of the utmost patience and restraint, the Republic of Croatia accurately concluded that the least costly solution for both Croatia and the international community to end Croatia's agony and the international

community's humanitarian concerns in Bosnia and Herzegovina would require a limited but credible use of force that would end the siege of Bihac and restore order in adjacent occupied territories of Croatia. This action was successfully completed on Monday, in 84 hours.

I should just like to add in this regard that most of the remaining pockets of resistance surrendered yesterday, with the assistance and mediation of the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO). The relevant authorities have commenced giving access to the reintegrated areas to UNCRO, humanitarian organizations and media, consistent with reasonable security precautions.

My Government's security operations in the so-called Krajina region of Croatia cannot be equated with earlier actions by Belgrade and its proxies in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. Nevertheless, some are still tempted to find such convenient, but legally and morally corrupt, comparisons.

My Government's action was carried out mostly on its internationally recognized territory and in part of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the express request of that Government. Establishing sovereignty and security on its own territory and coming to the aid of a friendly Government is fully consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and is a hallmark of international relations and behaviour. The earlier actions by Belgrade and its proxies were foreign aggression, pure and simple, against a legally declared and, later, internationally recognized Member State. This fact has been recognized in various documents, and most precisely in General Assembly resolution 49/43. Any such comparison, therefore, not only breeds ill will in Croatia's public opinion but also calls into question well-established practice of international law and norms of international behaviour.

The operation against Knin, which lasted one day, cannot be equated with the shelling and complete destruction of Vukovar, which lasted four months, nor with the siege of Sarajevo, which has gone on more than three years. Who can seriously condemn Croatia's short and professional action, which in its second day ended the siege of Bihac, a siege that lasted more than three years and would have continued for who knows how much longer without our action?

The siege of Bihac was a major concern for the Council. It has been resolved at minimal cost to the international community and to the civilian population in the area. Therefore, my delegation regrets that the Council did not accept my delegation's amendment that would have acknowledged that the siege of Bihac had been successfully lifted.

This security action was undertaken with the utmost regard for limiting collateral damage and protecting civilians and United Nations personnel on the ground. The extremely short duration of a security action of this magnitude only confirms that we were very successful on all of these counts.

The operation was not perfectly free of wrongdoing, however. But, clearly, no one can expect an operation that includes some 150,000 troops on both sides to be completely free of collateral damage. Nevertheless, the Croatian Government deeply regrets the loss of innocent civilian lives and the loss of the lives of three UNCRO peace-keepers. My delegation joins my Foreign Minister in expressing our sincere condolences to the families of the three soldiers from the Kingdom of Denmark and the Czech Republic, which will for ever be affected by those losses.

In this regard, I must emphasize that my Government has accepted its part of the responsibility for these and other casualties amongst the United Nations personnel, and has already taken appropriate measures to remedy the costs of individual indiscretions and criminal acts against the peace-keepers. The same measures will be taken against the individuals who have acted against innocent civilians and their property. Along with these remedies, my Government has already taken various measures and programmes to normalize life in the reintegrated areas and to limit the humanitarian consequences of the Serb exodus from Croatia.

The exodus of ethnic Serbs from one region of Croatia cannot be compared to the earlier Serbian ethnic cleansing of non-Serbs from the same region, nor to the present expulsion of non-Serbs from Srebrenica and Zepa.

The exodus of Serbs from this region of Croatia is a tragedy, but not of Croatia's making. My Government has made numerous appeals to the ethnic Serb citizens of Croatia to stay and offered them amnesty, resources and protection to do so, while their own leadership, it is becoming increasingly evident, was ordering them to leave. The former Croatian Serb leader Milan Babic suggested as much in an interview with Radio Belgrade on Tuesday. The self-proclaimed authorities in Knin may

have decided on mass evacuation in order to provoke international outrage against Croatia and a military response from Belgrade, Babic suggested.

The Council should also recall that immediately after our security action began in the Western Slavonia region in early May the former so-called president, Milan Martic, of the so-called Krajina issued such evacuation orders and asked for United Nations assistance in transporting all Serbs from that region.

This exodus is a tragedy because of the Serbian policy seeking a nation-exclusive State. These and many other Serbs have been misled by their leaders, by their opinion-makers and by their Church into believing that Serbs cannot live with Croats or with Muslims or, for that matter, with almost anyone else. This manufactured belief is the real tragedy, and there is nothing that my Government or the international community can do to change it and make them stay at this time. Clearly, the Serbs from the so-called Krajina are victims of their own leadership's folly.

Nevertheless, my Government — in the words of my Prime Minister at the meeting with the local leaders from the reintegrated territories on Tuesday —

> "would repeat appeals to civilians who have fled to return."

Many will eventually return, but only when they are able to overcome the tragedy of their leaders and beliefs. Croatia will welcome them. They and the international community should know that twice as many Serbs live in Croatia as the number who fled from the so-called Krajina region. Most Serbs would not be manipulated by the Belgrade-inspired propaganda. As a result, today they live in the homes that their families lived in for centuries, enjoying peace and paying the price of war, in the same way as all other citizens of Croatia.

Croatia's security actions can be seen not as following the logic of war, but as establishing a solid foundation for a just peace. The new balance in the region will rejuvenate the peace process in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. We must recall that prior to Croatia's action the peace process in the region was deadlocked for months. The Bosnian Serb leadership had rejected the Contact Group plan, and the Croatian Serb leadership refused to negotiate at all. The latter's eleventh-hour transformation, despite some claims to the contrary, was neither genuine nor real. After four years of their stalling and refusal to accept a single non-Serb displaced person back into their territories, we should not have had any illusions about the intentions of the Knin leaders.

Moreover, their eleventh-hour promises did not in any way correspond to their actions on the ground. For confirmation, we do not have to look any further than the situation in Bihac. The offensive on Bihac stopped, and the siege was ended, only when the Croatian Army and police forces became engaged in the area.

My Government fully supports the new initiative by the United States to find ways to restart the negotiating process in a timely manner, and would support a new conference along the lines suggested by the President of the Russian Federation, His Excellency Mr. Boris Yeltsin, if it were carefully prepared and if the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, His Excellency Mr. Alija Izetbegovic, were also to attend. The new negotiations should be based on the principle of mutual recognition among all successor States of the former Yugoslavia, on the Contact Group plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina and on the linkage of the sanctions regime against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to its role in the implementation of a negotiated settlement for the Serbian minority in Croatia.

This linkage will be especially important in respect of a successful resolution to the problem of the remaining occupied territory in Croatia — the Vukovar region, or the former Sector East. My Government has no present military plans for this region and will invest all possible resources to resolve the problem peacefully. The Belgrade occupation of this territory of Croatia could not be more evident, and any premature easing of the sanctions regime without resolving this problem first may leave my Government with no other option than a military one.

My Government will also look to UNCRO to assist Croatia in resolving the problem of the Vukovar region peacefully. UNCRO's implementation of its mandate, which also calls for control of the international borders of Croatia that are not under control of the Croatian Government, will go a long way to achieving this critical objective of the peace process. As UNCRO redefines its role in the reintegrated areas of Croatia, my Government would welcome a redeployment of some of its excess resources to the international border in the Vukovar region.

The President: I thank the representative of Croatia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the duties of President of the Security Council for the current month and to wish you all success. I should also like to recognize the valuable contribution of your predecessor, Mr. Martínez Blanco, and the entire delegation of Honduras in guiding the work of the Council last month.

There are two draft resolutions before the Council today. These focus on the greatest consequence of the adventurism of Serbia's nationalist leadership and the international community's lack of preparedness and ability to halt aggression, terrorism and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia.

Of course, the highest priority right now is to alleviate human suffering and ensure safety and humanitarian assistance for the flood of refugees and their accommodation at the destinations of their choice, and not of the despotic strategists who tailor new borders and demographic changes of tectonic power.

This should lead to a more serious and more far-reaching engagement by the international community — primarily the Security Council — in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and other parts of the former Yugoslavia, particularly Sandzak and Kosovo, where hundreds of thousands of Bosniac Muslims and 2 million Albanians suffer systematic deprivation and terror at the hands of the ruling regime in Belgrade.

Above all, it will be necessary and only natural after their total collapse to examine the strategy and concepts for resolving the tragedy brought upon the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Moreover, it will be absolutely logical, putting egos aside, to give critical consideration to the failure of, and serious loss of confidence in, the key mediators whom the United Nations and the European Union have entrusted with promoting and implementing established principles. Not to go into all the serious faults and misconceived premises of the current strategy in finding a resolution to the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to retain the same plans and the same "contractors" even after their total failure, would be as illogical as it would be deadly for the prospects of peace and stability in this part of the world.

The mediators who salve their egos and compensate for their professional failures by inventing ethnogenetic theories on the Serbian roots of both Croats and Bosniac Muslims, by intervening in the work of the International war crimes Tribunal or by persistently equating the terrorists and the terrorized cannot contribute anything much more than complications, larger failures and more suffering by innocent people.

Croatia's action in defence of its territories and its rights, and in promotion of peace and stability within its borders, has turned to ashes several of the cardinal fallacies espoused by some key factors to promote their own agendas. The Croatian action has preserved the Bihac safe area, which the international community had given up on following its surrender of the Zepa and Srebrenica safe areas to The Hague invitees, Mladic and Karadzic, and has destroyed the myth of the invincibility and commitment of armed Serbian gangs.

It has destroyed the premise of those who ignorantly bleated to Bosnia and Herzegovina, to Croatia and to a world demanding justice that any action against the aggressor in Bosnia and Herzegovina would require a mighty force like that used in the Gulf.

It has dashed the selfish arguments of those who spare no effort to convince both Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia to accept military defeat and to accept the tailoring of their borders not only according to plans offered to Pale and Knin — offered and each time refused — but according to plans conforming to the dictates of the ever more arrogant Karadzic, Mladic and Martic.

It has prevented the international community from rewarding the Yugoslav aggression in Croatia, which would have led to irreparable damage and suffering to the quality of life in the territories of former Yugoslavia for decades to come.

The Croatian action of extinguishing the fire in its own house and subduing the arsonist has shown that some in the international community have practically begun to struggle to maintain occupation rather than peace and stability.

The neutralization of the terrorist centre in Croatia should also halt the financial waste levied on the world's

taxpayers for a peace force and a grossly bureaucratic apparatus intended to maintain the status quo in Croatia. This burden is mostly borne by the taxpayers of the country which is host to the United Nations and whose wisdom helped create and realize the ideas of the League of Nations and the United Nations.

The Croatian victory has concurrently disclosed the real nature of the terrorists and the dangerous misconceptions of the international community, which, instead of quickly identifying the criminals, has promoted them to negotiators and has almost legalized them as Government officials and statesmen. It has uncovered the very logic, the very mechanism and the very perpetrators of the aggression and terror in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. It has shown that the leaders of terrorism do not care even for the lives of their own nationals, their own people. Martic and his commanders, not the Croatian Army and police, expelled Serbs from Krajina and forced innocent civilians to leave their homes for the exile of Serbia, whose leaders have many times in the past manipulated Serbs from other parts of the Balkans and used them as cannon fodder, and are doing so once again.

The quarrel between the leaders of Serb Krajina reported by a Serbian news agency and by international media reveals that their goal was to start this huge exodus of the population in order to provoke the international community to retaliate against Croatia and to draw Serbia once again into open war adventurism.

The innocent Serb civilians are again being manipulated by their self-serving leaders, black marketeers and war profiteers, amateur statesmen but certainly professional war criminals. Let us hope that this is the last time — never again — the world will watch these sad pictures, directed for us by those who for more than three years pulled the leg of very cooperative and acquiescent representatives of the international community by rejecting all initiatives for solving the crisis in Croatia and for the peaceful reintegration of Krajina into the sovereign and independent State of Croatia.

The world could and should also note that this latest exodus of Serbs from Croatia, though very sad and unfortunate, and though absolutely excessive and unnecessary, is at its core somewhat different from the expulsions and extermination of peoples over the past four years from the territories of Croatia and of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Serbs of formerly occupied Croatia are leaving in vehicles — tractors, cars, buses — and are able to take a significant portion of their belongings. Muslims and Croats have had to leave everything and start on foot into the uncertain, very often across mine fields and through front lines, and most frequently after having been humiliated, raped, tortured, beaten — while some 200,000 were killed, massacred, so that they would reach nowhere.

Fortunately, with this latest exodus of innocent Serb civilians, the standards of conduct and care by the international community, in particular of humanitarian organizations, have risen, in order to alleviate the plight of these people and to ensure their safety. We have increasingly seen pictures of leading members of international humanitarian organizations and the highest representatives of the United Nations who had not been even close to Vukovar, Prijedor, Foca or Srebrenica, not to mention the concentration camps in Bosnia and Herzegovina where tens of thousands of innocent Bosniac Muslims have perished. We hope that these improved standards will remain in place in the future and will be extended to all regions, but let us also hope for — and first and foremost let us take all measures necessary towards creating — a situation where the need for humanitarian assistance and rescue actions in these regions will cease to exist.

After all, Croatia has not endangered peace or stability with its latest action. It has, by utilizing its sovereign and inherent rights, made a most significant contribution to peace and created conditions under which the Pale Serbs can learn a lesson from the defeat of their Knin friends. The world should not search in Croatia for those guilty of causing the exodus of these tens of thousands of civilians — camouflaged and intermingled among them armed thugs who for four years terrorized not only Croatia and western Bosnia but their own compatriots. Those guilty of causing this latest exodus have already escaped to Belgrade and they should be looked for there, together with their bosses who now denounce them and who are beginning to realize all the limitations and the unreliability of the militarily aggressive actions which were intended only to further their own political goals.

This is not the defeat of the Serbian people in Croatia, though, unfortunately, it is the Serbian people who are succumbing to the manipulation and propaganda machinery of armed criminals and of Milosevic's Serbia and who are now paying the price. This is a victory of the Croatian army over the terrorists and criminals among the Serbians, who wanted to carry out violence against history and against innocent civilians on both

sides. When justice is done, I am confident that both the Serbian and the Croatian peoples will find the way to rehabilitate themselves from the injustices perpetrated on them and to heal their wounds, no matter how deep they may be. Therefore it is high time that justice was done.

The President: I thank the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the kind words he addressed to me.

In accordance with the decision taken earlier in the meeting, I now invite Ambassador Dragomir Djokić to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

Mr. Djokić: In the early morning hours of 4 August 1995, the Croatian Government and the regime of Mr. Tudjman embarked upon the final act to attain the goal of Croatian extreme nationalists and fascists to exterminate or expel the Serb people from Krajina. By the horrifying indiscriminate mass artillery and missile bombardment of predominantly civilian targets in all the towns of Serb Krajina, Croatia unambiguously demonstrated that one of its main goals, apart from imposing its sovereignty over Krajina, was to inflict heavy losses on the civilian population and by so doing incite a mass exodus of Serbs in order to create an ethnically pure Croat state. Regrettably, the Croatian strategy has been successful as columns of more than 200,000 Serbs, almost the entire population of the parts of Krajina seized in the latest Croat aggression, are now fleeing Krajina into neighbouring Bosnia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This no doubt represents the most massive and shameless example of large-scale "ethnic cleansing" since the crisis in the territory of previous Yugoslavia began in 1991.

After more than 100 years, the final solution of Croatian extremists espoused in the infamous maxim of the leader of the Croatian Party of the Right, Ante Starcevic, in regard to resolving the Serb question — to annihilate a third, expel a third and assimilate a third — is practically being realized. The regime of Mr. Tudjman is on the verge of achieving what the Croatian Ustashi fascists did not achieve during the nightmare of the Second World War, when 700,000 Serbs were slaughtered in the so-called "Independent State of Croatia": the total extermination and cleansing of the Serbs from their ancestral homes in Krajina.

The overt genocide that the Croatian Government is conducting against the Krajina Serbs, the mass murder of civilians - women, children and the elderly - is telling proof that the fear that Mr. Tudjman's regime, and its checker-board flag under which so many Serbs were mercilessly killed during the Second World War, instilled in the Krajina Serbs was totally justified and that they had no choice but to rebel against it.

Long before the aggression against the Krajina Serbs, pressures and intensive preparations by Croatia had begun for a confrontation with the Serbs. More than 350,000 Serbs from the territories which are under Croat control had already fled. On the other hand, those who attempted to remain in their homes were mistreated in every conceivable way and many of them were forcibly converted to the Catholic faith. Discrimination in all areas of everyday life and work — eviction, lay-offs on grounds of nationality, and illegal seizure of property and gross violations of fundamental human and civil rights — were rampant. During Croatia's aggression against the Sector West United Nations protected areas in May of this year, virtually the whole Serb population was murdered, wounded, imprisoned or expelled from the region.

By opting for all-out aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina, the Croatian Government not only attacked the Serb population but also flagrantly violated the Security Council resolutions which established the United Nations protected areas in Krajina, with the aim of protecting the local population, and breached the Vance plan. The Croatian Government acted in total disregard of the unambiguous and clear-cut demands by the Security Council, set out in its resolution 994 (1995) and a number of presidential statements, that it refrain from taking any further military measures or actions that could lead to the escalation of the situation, and particularly that it cease all military actions in and around Sector South; and of warnings that in the event of failure to comply with this demand the Security Council would consider further steps to ensure such compliance. In its massive onslaught the Croatian forces have deliberately targeted United Nations peace-keepers, murdering and wounding many of them. It is no wonder that the Co-Chairman of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, Mr. Carl Bildt, condemned the Croat offensive in the strongest terms and raised the possibility of Mr. Tudjman's being indicted for war crimes.

By mounting this aggression against Krajina, Croatia has clearly shown that it represents the greatest danger to peace in the Balkans. It is particularly noteworthy that Croatia's brutal aggression took place at the time of the resumption of direct negotiations between Knin and Zagreb, in which the Krajina side expressed the greatest

readiness for a political solution to the status of Krajina, making serious concessions and accepting the seven-point plan for the urgent settlement of the crisis proposed by the Co-Chairman of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, Mr. Stoltenberg. As has been the case on so many occasions when there was a possibility of achieving a peaceful negotiated settlement to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, measures were taken to avert a political solution, and the war option once again prevailed.

It is obvious that the Croatian Government would not have dared decide to undertake such a broad and meticulously planned aggression without the backing of some major Powers. From the time of the German-led premature recognition of Croatia and other former Yugoslav republics, such support has not been lacking. These Powers have decided to shun the only possible policy for a just and lasting settlement of the Yugoslav crisis - the fully equal treatment of all Yugoslav nations and their interests - in favour of a policy of double standards and biased support for some sides and unprecedented condemnation and satanization of others.

It has not escaped the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that the United States of America has signed a military cooperation agreement with Croatia. United States military advisers are lending technical and logistical assistance to Croatian armed forces. The United States has also strongly backed the Bosnian Muslim-Croat Federation and its confederation with Croatia, in an attempt to create an anti-Serb front in the Balkans. This cooperation has now borne fruit in the aggression of Croatia against Krajina. The Foreign Minister of Croatia himself confirmed that the United States gave advice to Croatia on how to execute the mass attack on Serb Krajina and tacitly approved such an operation. It is also evident from the ongoing aggression that the arms embargo against Croatia has been a sham, since from its introduction Croatia has been receiving the most sophisticated and modern weaponry.

It is particularly worrisome and disconcerting that the Security Council and the international community have not condemned the brutal Croatian aggression. What should happen for the Security Council to decide to act and put an end to the cold-blooded aggression of Croatia against Krajina and the enormous threat to peace and security in the region, which could lead to an uncontrollable escalation with unforeseen consequences?

After having previously committed seven armed attacks on the United Nations protected areas since they were established in 1992, in a brazen affront to the whole United Nations operation in the previous Yugoslavia, Croatia decided to do away with the protected areas and the United Nations peace-keeping mission altogether. Moreover, Croatia has totally ignored the calls of the international community to give up the military option and to show due respect for the United Nations representatives.

Can this be allowed to go unpunished?

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia expresses its utmost concern in the wake of the dramatic humanitarian situation caused by the Croatian aggression on Krajina. For its part, it has taken urgent and energetic measures, but we call upon the Security Council to engage all Members of the United Nations and international humanitarian organizations in providing urgent assistance to alleviate the tragic fate of more than 200,000 Serb refugees who were forced to flee Krajina. The most urgent needs include food, medicines, medical supplies, clothes, tents and blankets.

We hope that the international community will demonstrate compassion and concern for the tragic destiny of the Krajina Serb population and urgently respond to the unprecedented humanitarian disaster, in which the Serb people from Krajina have lost virtually everything and are at the very limit of their endurance.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia urges the Security Council to make Croatia allow access to the representatives of the United Nations and humanitarian organizations to the territories of Krajina recently occupied by Croatian military forces in order to conduct a thorough and objective investigation into the monstrous crimes committed against the Krajina Serbs — massacres, torture, opening fire on columns of refugees, using Serb soldiers, civilians and United Nations representatives as human shields, as well as widespread looting.

From the very beginning of the outbreak of the crisis in the territory of the previous Yugoslavia, the Security Council has directed its decisions and activities against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, imposing on it, without any justification, the most comprehensive, harsh and unprecedented sanctions in the history of the United Nations. The following question must be asked: what criteria is the Security Council now using, considering the open aggression of Croatia against Krajina and flagrant violations of humanitarian law?

Even without the sanctions, which have disastrous effects, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would hardly be in a position to effectively cope with the overwhelming burden caused by the latest influx of tens of thousands of new refugees regarding accommodation, food supplies, medicines and clothes, particularly since most of them are children, women, the elderly, the wounded and the sick. This is just one more reason for the legitimate request that the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia be urgently lifted, since they stand in the way of the overall political solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

On the other side, the Security Council is regrettably not endeavouring even to secure the implementation of its own decisions and resolutions regarding the arms embargo on Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the prevention of "ethnic cleansing" and the prosecution of Croatian, as well as Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croat war criminals.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia notes with the utmost indignation and bitterness that the international community has not undertaken resolute measures to stop and "disenable" the monstrous policy of Croatia against the Krajina Serbs. A week has passed without the Security Council condemning by even one word the massive bombardment of Krajina towns, destruction of water supply systems, shelling of hospitals and other civilian targets, premeditated killing of innocent civilians and commission of war crimes against them.

Particular responsibility rests with the Security Council, whose primary role, under Chapter VII of the Charter, is to maintain peace and security and protect the victims of aggression. The Security Council, which has already admitted that such actions by Croatia seriously threaten to escalate the conflict, must take concrete and resolute measures against such criminal and genocidal acts by Croatia.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is very disappointed that the Security Council did not most resolutely condemn the Croatian aggression and the crimes committed, particularly "ethnic cleansing" and other gross violations of fundamental norms of international humanitarian law, human rights and the principles of international law in times of war, in the light of the horrible crimes that the Croatian army committed against Serbian civilians and prisoners of war.

It is particularly distressing that the Council did not demand that Croatian troops withdraw to the positions held prior to the aggression of 4 August 1995 and that the calls for the introduction of comprehensive sanctions against Croatia were ignored. The resolution that the Council is about to adopt represents a pale and totally inadequate response to the drama that has been unfolding in Krajina. Once again the Security Council has not managed to rid itself of its persistent bias in treating the peoples of the previous Yugoslavia in an unequal manner. The greatest "ethnic cleansing" ever committed in the territories of the former Yugoslavia, the virtual expulsion of the Serbs from Krajina, has met with a much milder response than when the Council has taken action regarding atrocities committed against other peoples.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia reiterates its firm commitment to a political and negotiated solution of all problems in the territory of the previous Yugoslavia, and particularly those that have arisen due to the aggression of Croatia against Krajina.

Trusting that Europe and the international community as a whole cannot accept the brutal creation of an ethnically pure Croatia based on the expulsion of more than 200,000 innocent civilians, we expect an immediate and effective response by this Council. Should it fail so to respond, the Security Council will become an accessory to bringing about a tragedy for an entire people who have lived in those territories for centuries, and it will not be able to evade its responsibility for all the consequences that may arise as a result of the brutal Croatian aggression.

The time to take energetic action to reach a just political solution in the territories of the previous Yugoslavia is running out. With every day that is lost, we will be faced with new challenges which will only make the situation more complex and more dangerous — and not only for the countries of that region. If the Security Council sincerely wishes to avoid that, it must act resolutely and immediately, without any further delay.

The President: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): The objective of the international community's involvement in the territories of the former Yugoslavia is to promote peace and discourage more war, and therefore the outbreak of hostilities and the broad military offensive of the Croatian Government, following the failure of the recent Geneva talks, are regrettable. The Security Council therefore condemned these negative developments in its presidential statement of 4 August 1995.

The launching of the military offensive has produced very serious and negative consequences. Through the Secretary-General's letter of 7 August 1995 and the constant, almost daily briefings of the Secretariat, we have been made aware of some worrisome developments. It has come to light, for example, that our Blue Helmets were not only attacked but also used as human shields and made to march in front of the advancing Croatian army. United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) personnel have already suffered three fatalities. My Government would like to seize this opportunity to send its formal condolences to the Government of the Czech Republic and the Government of Denmark for the loss of some of their brave young men.

Furthermore, we are now faced with the humanitarian nightmare of the war, with over 100,000 refugees and displaced persons urgently needing assistance. Related to this, we have confirmed reports of the shelling of some refugee columns and civilian targets.

The draft resolution before us, dealing with Croatia, attempts to respond to some of this fallout from the broad military offensive by the Croatian Government and is aimed at helping to stabilize the situation. Hence, the draft resolution will enjoy the support of my delegation.

In accordance with the text of the draft resolution, my delegation regrets the breakdown of the Geneva talks, deplores the recent military offensive of the Croatian Government and condemns the shelling of civilian targets. My Government unreservedly condemns the unacceptable acts of the Croatian Government forces against UNCRO personnel and the civilian population and would like to remind the Croatian Government of its duty to ensure the safety and protection of United Nations personnel within its territory, as well as of its obligations under international humanitarian law. We have condemned, vigorously and often, the Bosnian Serbs for such actions, and we find them even more objectionable coming from the army of a Member State of the United Nations. We hope the investigations and processes under way to identify and punish the culprits will be concluded soon.

With regard to the humanitarian situation, we fully endorse the request made to the Secretary-General in operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution to assess urgently, in cooperation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the humanitarian situation and needs of the civilian population, both refugees and internationally displaced persons. Furthermore, we call on the Croatian authorities to move quickly to restore normality to all the areas under their control, ensure safe passage for those who want to leave and encourage the return of those who would like to go back to their homes.

As the Security Council has emphasized repeatedly, there can be no military solution to the conflict in Croatia or, indeed, throughout the former Yugoslavia. My delegation believes that all efforts must therefore be made and, indeed, intensified to avoid broadening war in the Balkans. We urge all the parties and others concerned to exercise maximum restraint on all fronts, and especially in the area known as Sector East. We further call on all the parties to return to the negotiating table and promptly resume talks under the auspices of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

My delegation believes that a peaceful solution to the conflict in Croatia and Bosnia is still possible and is now even more urgent. The prospect of a larger Balkan conflict is not unavoidable. Events on the ground may, in fact, have offered new negotiating possibilities for a settlement in the Balkans. However, time is of the essence, and we need to redouble our efforts if we are to take advantage of the latest developments on the ground to get political negotiations restarted and intensified.

In this connection, the Contact Group must redouble its efforts and demonstrate greater unity of action in its dealings with all the parties, with no favourites. We must propose solutions that would promote a comprehensive and lasting peace that ensures the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the former Yugoslavia within their internationally recognized borders and on the basis of mutual recognition of all the successor States. Moreover, all genuine efforts and initiatives must be welcomed and encouraged, and that is why the recent initiative of President Yeltsin of the Russian Federation

and those of some other members of the Contact Group deserve our full support.

Finally, we salute all the personnel of UNCRO and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) for their continued service in the cause of peace and their discharge of their noble duties under very trying and exceptional circumstances.

Mr. Eitel (Germany): Today's debate on Croatia reflects the sad fact that once again the logic of confrontation and war has triumphed in the former Yugoslavia. Despite enormous and sustained efforts by the international community, the search for an overall negotiated settlement which would bring back peace and peaceful coexistence to the former Yugoslavia has not yielded the desired results. Instead, we see pictures of human suffering, burning houses and tens of thousands of refugees on the move. Thus, with a deep sense of frustration, we again must observe that mutual distrust, tensions and hatred, unleashed in 1991 by an outbreak of excessive nationalism, continue to haunt the former Yugoslavia.

Germany strongly deplores the decision of the Croatian Government to use military means to regain those Croatian territories previously known as Sector South and Sector North. Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Kinkel urged the Croatian Government, up to the last minute, to refrain from using force and to fully exhaust the means of dialogue and negotiations for a peaceful reintegration of the territories in question.

The cost of the Croatian offensive in terms of human lives and suffering is high. Croatia has taken a heavy responsibility upon itself. It must now face the consequences. One consequence is that Croatian behaviour with regard to the treatment and human rights of the Serb population and the refugees will be observed most attentively by the international community.

We strongly condemn the shelling of civilian targets and attacks by Croatian Government forces against personnel of the United Nations peace-keeping forces, in particular those which resulted in the death of a Danish member and two Czech members of those forces. We express our condolences to the Danish and Czech Governments and to the families of the deceased. There are other reports of attacks against and abuses of United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) personnel and Serbian civilians. We expect the Croatian side to examine these allegations in the most serious manner and to bring to justice those members of its armed forces whose misdeeds can be established. We welcome the relevant promises we have just heard from the representative of Croatia.

The German commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia continues to be firm. In response to what has just been said by the representative of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), I want to point out that the insurrection in the mainly Serb-inhabited areas of Krajina and the establishment of Serb control over a large part of the territory of Croatia by Croatian Serbs, which took place in 1991 with the decisive assistance of the former Yugoslav army, must not be forgotten. It is something which no country could have accepted.

While we deeply regret the recent Croatian action, we are ready to acknowledge that Croatia's patience has been tested severely over a long time by the intransigence of the Croatian Serb leadership and by the great number of cease-fire violations committed by Croatian Serb forces and their pattern of cross-border attacks — in particular, in the area of Bihac.

In the German view, there are now three priorities. First, the urgent humanitarian needs must be addressed, and full respect for human rights must be ensured. Secondly, the situation in and around Croatia must be stabilized. Thirdly, the conflicting parties must be brought back to the negotiating table.

We strongly urge all parties to exercise the maximum restraint in and around Sector East. This demand applies also to the Government in Belgrade — we remember the siege and fall of Vukovar.

Croatia must ensure that the human rights and minority rights of the Serbs of the former Sector East and Sector North are fully respected. We are deeply concerned about the fate of the Croatian Serb refugees. We consider it crucial that Croatia guarantee the right of these refugees to return and that the Croatian authorities do everything in their power to create circumstances and a climate conducive to such a return.

We welcome the commitments made by the Croatian leaders in this respect, to which the representative of Croatia has just referred, in the agreement with the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) of 6 August 1995 and call upon the Croatian authorities to strictly adhere to these

commitments. Croatia must create a situation in which Croatian Serbs, including those currently fleeing Croatia, have a clear perspective that they will be able to live in peace, safety and dignity, and without discrimination, in their homeland. This is what Europe expects from Croatia.

Germany, despite the more than 400,000 refugees from the former Yugoslavia already in Germany, reaffirms its readiness to help to alleviate the humanitarian plight. We would like to appeal to all States, and especially our European partners, to do likewise.

Germany reaffirms its commitment to the efforts for a political settlement. We call on the Government of Croatia and the leadership of the Croatian Serbs to cooperate fully with international efforts for such a negotiated settlement. The day must come when Croats and Serbs can again shake hands and live together in peace.

It is in this hope that we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* Recently, the situation in Croatia has deteriorated drastically, marked by a rapid escalation of military conflict and attacks on United Nations peace-keeping personnel, plunging innocent civilians into an abyss of misery and forcing large numbers of refugees to leave their homeland. The humanitarian situation in the region is extremely grim, and the Chinese delegation is deeply concerned about this situation.

The current situation in the former Yugoslavia, rather than cooling down, has heated up and grown even more tense and turbulent. Once the flames of war spread, the situation will be uncontrollable and unmanageable. This will not only bring huge calamities to the people in the region, but also pose a serious threat to peace and stability in Europe and the world as a whole. Therefore, we strongly urge the parties concerned, taking into account the long-term interests of all ethnic groups in the region, to stop all military action immediately and peacefully settle their conflicts through negotiations. At present, it is imperative that the problem of the large exodus of refugees and other grave humanitarian problems be resolved. At the same time, we strongly call on the parties concerned to ensure the safety of the personnel of the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO).

We have consistently held that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries of the former Yugoslavia should be fully respected and that countries in the region should recognize and live in amity with each other and work together to advance the process of a comprehensive political settlement. We support the diplomatic and political efforts made by the international community to this end.

The draft resolution before us urges the parties to the conflict to immediately stop hostilities and resume negotiations at an early date and calls for an urgent solution to the humanitarian problems, particularly that of refugees, so as to restore stability in the region. It also calls upon the parties to ensure the safety and freedom of movement of UNCRO personnel. The Chinese delegation will therefore vote in favour of it.

Here, I wish to reiterate that the Chinese delegation's reservation with regard to the references in the draft resolution to Chapter VII of the Charter and resolution 816 (1993) remains unchanged.

Mr. Nkgowe (Botswana): The conflict in the former Yugoslavia does not lend itself to easy solutions. Yesterday, the international community witnessed a human tragedy of epic proportions in Srebrenica and Zepa, in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, when the Bosnian Serbs drove innocent civilians in their thousands from the comfort of their homes and put them on a journey into the unknown. Today, a similar catastrophe has befallen the Krajina Serbs in Croatia as a result of a broad military offensive launched by the Government of Croatia against Krajina, in blatant violation of Security Council resolutions. In both cases, the authority of the United Nations was undermined and defied with disdain.

Not only that, but the Croatian forces have clearly demonstrated disrespect for the authority of the United Nations by moving into the zones of separation and engaging in deliberate attacks against United Nations personnel. According to some reports, the United Nations forces, crouching in their bunkers to escape crossfire, were sought out, physically threatened and harassed by the forces of the Government of Croatia.

In the most unacceptable act of all, some of the peace-keepers were made to walk in front of the advancing Croatian military columns to serve as human shields. It is therefore most fitting that the draft resolution before us condemns in the strongest terms attacks against personnel of the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) by Croatian forces, including those that resulted in the

death of one Danish and two Czech peace-keepers. My delegation wishes to convey its heartfelt condolences to the Governments of Denmark and the Czech Republic and, through them, to the bereaved families. We call upon the Government of Croatia to respect United Nations personnel and to ensure UNCRO's safety, security and freedom of movement to fulfil its mandate in accordance with Council resolutions.

We fully appreciate the frustration of the Government of Croatia with the continued occupation of its territory, but we do not believe that a military solution was the best answer. The use of force to resolve disputes is unacceptable to my delegation and we strongly deplore the forcible annexation of Krajina by Croatian Government forces. In its presidential statement on 3 August 1995, the Security Council urged the parties to exercise restraint and give the political process started by Ambassador Stoltenberg, Co-Chairman of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, a chance to succeed, especially since the proposals were acceptable to the Krajina Serbs as a basis for further negotiations. It is most unfortunate that Croatia not only refused to explore all political avenues available and heed the advice of the United Nations, but went ahead and launched a military offensive against Krajina with tragic consequences for the local Serb population.

We have been shocked beyond belief by reports of direct shelling of civilian targets with heavy weapons and by further reports that in some cases fleeing refugees were intercepted and massacred in cold blood. Some 120,000 or more refugees are reported to have fled Krajina, causing a humanitarian tragedy of unprecedented magnitude. It is therefore not surprising that this tragedy has been described in the media as the worst incident of "ethnic cleansing" since the beginning of the war in the former Yugoslavia. There are also reports of looting, plunder and the general destruction of Serb property; this is not likely to encourage Croatian Serbs to remain in the country or to return if they have already fled. Nor does it augur well for the future peace and stability of Croatia. An imposed peace is unlikely to work, as the Croatian Serbs would seek retaliation, perhaps not today, tomorrow or next year, but in generations to come. This is why we are opposed to military solutions: they do not contribute to future peace, but tend to mortgage the lives of posterity to a future of hatred and uncertainty, which would make today's military success appear a pyrrhic victory several generations later.

We call upon the authorities in Zagreb to hold inviolate the civil and human rights of the local Serb population and to treat all prisoners of war in accordance with accepted standards of international law governing the rights of military personnel in conflict situations. All people of Serb origin who wish to leave should be allowed to do so without let or hindrance. Equally, those who wish to stay or return should be allowed to do so in conditions of safety and without discrimination or harassment based on ethnic origin.

In its short history of almost three decades, Botswana has fought for and defended the right of all peoples to political freedom and human equality. We have done this because of our innate belief in the equality of all human beings and the indivisibility of freedom and justice. Two wrongs never make a right. For us, the sanctity of and respect for human life extend to all peoples irrespective of creed, race or ethic affiliation. Thus, while we fully share the pain and suffering experienced by the peoples of both Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia because of the wars raging in their countries, we have at the same time maintained a balanced position *vis-à-vis* the conflicts in those countries. We have joined in the condemnation of all violations of international humanitarian law committed in these conflicts irrespective of who may have committed them.

We believe that all the States that emerged from former Yugoslavia would contribute to peace if they recognized each other's right to exist within secure borders as sovereign nations. We think that recognition of the right of each Republic to exist would help eliminate the current conditions of insecurity in the Balkans, but we cannot be prescriptive here, because it is the sovereign right of each State, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, to decide how it wishes to conduct its external relations. We can only appeal for the recognition of the right of each State to exist for the sake of stability in the area, and can only hope that this would help end the unfortunate human tragedy that has been unfolding in the former Yugoslavia. But we can do no more.

Having said that, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. We believe the Security Council is sending the right message: that civilians have the right to protection in any war, whether a war of aggression or a war to defend territory against aggression.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Russian Federation is gravely concerned by the situation that has arisen in recent days

in and around Croatia. Large-scale military operations by the Croatian army to seize Sectors North and South have overnight brought to naught the efforts of the international community, first and foremost those of the Security Council, the countries of the Contact Group and the international mediators, Mr. Stoltenberg and Mr. Bildt, in their continued attempts to find a political solution. The military actions of the Croatian army have brought the situation in the former Yugoslavia closer to the brink of a major war in the Balkans — and this at a time when there are real prospects for progress at the negotiating table.

We must note that what has taken hold in Zagreb is a stance of integrating Serb-populated regions by force, which has unfortunately been indirectly encouraged from the capitals of a number of major countries. We clearly see a situation in which the principle of a just solution is being sacrificed to a philosophy of *fait accompli*. We believe that this approach will have harmful consequences both for the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis and, in a broader sense, for the role to be played by the United Nations in maintaining and restoring international peace and security. One result of this policy which has now emerged is the mass exodus of the Serb population of Krajina, which has lived in this region for hundreds of years. The refugee situation can be called nothing less than a humanitarian catastrophe. Of special concern are reports of flagrant violations by Croatian armed forces of the norms of international humanitarian law, incidents of firing on convoys of refugees in Bosnian territory, and the use of cluster bombs.

In attacking Krajina, the Croatian side has not only violated many Security Council resolutions, but has also carried out a series of deliberate attacks on United Nations forces, which have involved loss of live. There are cases of using personnel of the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) as human shields in the conduct of military operations, which has been sternly condemned by the Security Council.

The gravity of the current situation requires the adoption of urgent measures. We therefore took an active part in the preparation of the draft resolution before the Council today, which includes a number of provisions intended to prevent further deterioration of the situation. Of special importance in our view is the draft resolution's demand that the Government of the Republic of Croatia cease immediately all hostilities and comply with all relevant Council resolutions, including resolution 994 (1995), and that it respect fully the rights of the local Serb population.

The threats to use military means with respect to eastern Slavonia underscore the urgency of the Council's appeal to the countries, especially to the Government of Croatia, to exercise maximum restraint.

International humanitarian organizations should be guaranteed unhampered access to the relevant regions as well as to Serbian military personnel being detained by the Croatian Government forces. Those who commit violations of international humanitarian law should be held individually responsible in respect of such acts.

No less important is the demand by the Security Council that Croatia respect the status of United Nations personnel, put an end to attacks on it and punish those who are guilty of such attacks.

The draft resolution notes with concern reports of violations of resolution 713 (1991). We have a very solid basis for noting this. The tragic events in Croatia have once again reaffirmed that the fact that violations of the arms embargo go unpunished tempt the parties to the conflict to try to solve disputes not around the negotiating table but by force of arms. In this connection, the need to adopt additional measures to ensure effective compliance with Security Council resolution 713 (1991) is becoming more acute.

Yet another clear conclusion is that the United Nations peace-keeping operations in Croatia must continue in order to prevent a complete humanitarian catastrophe and to ensure objective international observation of the actions of the Croatian authorities with regard to the Serbian population that has come under its control. In this regard, any violations of international humanitarian law, from wherever they come, require the adoption of effective and impartial measures, including by the Security Council.

The situation in Croatia must remain under the close scrutiny of the Security Council, which, as the draft resolution points out, will be prepared to consider further measures to achieve compliance with all the provisions of the draft resolution. There are such measures that the Security Council can take, and this should be remembered by those who believe that the Council's decisions are not binding on them.

We think that the most important step we can take now is to return to the negotiation process. Understanding the need to counter the logic of violence with swift and decisive action, Russia has taken an

initiative to settle the conflict, by proposing a meeting of the Serbian and Croatian leaders, Mr. Milosevic and Mr. Tudjman, respectively, in Moscow. Regrettably, we must note that in Croatia the initial positive reaction to this initiative has been abandoned, and they have proved to be unprepared to begin a direct peaceful dialogue. We are convinced that the need for a lasting peace, also in the interests of the people of Croatia, will soon lead the leadership in Zagreb to the negotiating table. The Russian proposal remains valid.

As a result of a dialogue on 10 August between the President of the Russian Federation, Boris Nicolayevich Yeltsin, and President Milosevic in Moscow, the commitment to Belgrade to a political settlement of the entire Yugoslav crisis and to a solution of the problem of Bosnia on the basis of the peace plan and the ending of military hostilities everywhere was reaffirmed. We believe that Belgrade's constructive policy should be met by an adequate reaction on the part of the international community.

Finally, we need to take a decision to relieve Yugoslavia of the burden of sanctions. This would open the way to the beginning of a process of mutual recognition of the States located on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

The Russian President has proposed, in the light of the prevailing situation, that we take the following actions:

— The adoption of extreme measures to prevent a humanitarian catastrophe, to ensure for all refugees the unhindered return to their home, guaranteeing their safety. There must be free access to humanitarian assistance. Representatives of the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe and other international organizations must be granted the access required to monitor the observance of the rights of the entire population of Croatia, in full accordance with international rules. Of course, these requirements apply also to all other regions in the territory of the former Yugoslavia which have become battlefields.

— The safety of the United Nations peace-keepers must be ensured. This is an absolute imperative.

— An end to hostilities in the entire territory of Yugoslavia must be achieved. If that is not done, no political decisions can be achieved.

— An end must be put to delays in the implementation of the peace plan proposed by the international community, which constitutes a real alternative to an escalation of violence in Bosnia.

For this purpose, the Russian President has renewed a proposal for a meeting of the heads of key countries, with the participation of the parties to the conflict, the leaders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. An important stage in the preparation for such a meeting could be a direct dialogue by the three leaders: Mr. Milosevic, Mr. Tudjman and Mr. Izetbegovic. Russia is prepared to organize such a dialogue also.

Hostilities in the area of the former Yugoslavia, be it in Croatia or in Bosnia, cannot be resolved militarily or by force. We are convinced not only that it is still possible to settle them peacefully, but that there is no other way. Russia is firmly determined to promote such a settlement.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): Oman reiterates its commitment to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States in the region under consideration, including the Republic of Croatia. Stemming from this commitment, we have supported all efforts aimed at ensuring the rights of all the citizens of Croatia, including the Serb population living in the Krajina region, within the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia.

On the other hand, we understand the frustration of the Croatian authorities when it comes to the question of the Krajina Serbs, who have been testing the patience of the international community for the past four years. Their engagement in the fighting inside the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, their cross-border violations of the international borders and the attacks they have mounted on the safe area of Bihac have all resulted in the latest events.

While calling on all the sides to refrain from fighting and to exercise maximum restraint in order not to escalate the war, we also stress the need for the Government of Croatia to adhere strictly to the provisions of the agreement it signed with the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) on 6 August 1995 with regard to the humanitarian situation in areas of its country, to allow access to these areas by all humanitarian organizations and to create conditions conducive to the voluntary return of those persons who have left their homes. Any acts against civilians and the United Nations personnel will not be accepted. Here, my

delegation would like to join other speakers in conveying heartfelt condolences to the Government of the Czech Republic and the Danish authorities on the loss of life of their brave soldiers.

There could never be a peaceful solution through the use of force. My delegation supports all efforts to bring about a long and lasting peace in that region. We believe that the Security Council and the international community will do a great service to that war-torn region if and when we succeed in making all those countries in the region recognize each other.

Finally, in support of the desire of the overwhelming majority in the Security Council for the early adoption of the draft resolution before us, my delegation will vote in favour of it.

The President: I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/676.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1009 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Ladsous (France) *(interpretation from French):* The large-scale offensive launched on 4 August by the Government of the Republic of Croatia in Krajina was condemned by France in unequivocal terms. While Sector North and Sector South, where this offensive unfolded, are indeed parts of the territory of the Republic of Croatia, the Serb population in these regions do have rights, rights recognized by the international community, which prohibit any such military operation from being regarded as legitimate. Recognition of Croatia by the European Union was, I would remind the Council, made expressly contingent on recognition by that State of the rights of the Serb minority.

The resolutions of the Security Council make it incumbent upon the Croatian authorities to turn to negotiation to bring about reintegration within the Republic of the territories in question. By putting an end to discussions started in Geneva with the Serb party in Croatia and deliberately choosing the military option to restore their authority in those sectors, the Zagreb authorities took a totally unacceptable decision, a decision contrary to their international obligations.

The European Union took a clear stand along those lines. The resolution the Council has just adopted also restates this explicitly and demands full compliance with all Council resolutions, including resolution 994 (1995).

France stands in full solidarity with that demand. The Croatian Government must immediately halt any and all military activity in the Krajina sectors and refrain from all military action in Eastern Slavonia. But its obligations do not stop there. It must also come back to the negotiating table and strive in good faith to reach, with the Serb party in Croatia, an agreement guaranteeing the rights of all the communities. Without such a negotiated settlement, no viable solution could possibly be considered as established.

The resolution we have just adopted seems to us timely and fitting for three further reasons.

First, it places very special emphasis on respect for the rights of civilians. The very large number of people who have fled Croatian soil and headed towards areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina or of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia clearly demonstrates the scope of the human trauma triggered by the Croatian Government's offensive. The Serb populations must be free to move about and, in particular, those who have fled must be able to come back in satisfactory conditions of safety and security to their region of origin. Monitoring by humanitarian organizations to ensure respect for these rights seems essential to us, just as is access by representatives of the Red Cross to the soldiers of the Serb forces who have been taken prisoner. The text adopted stresses these points.

Secondly, the resolution embodies a very forceful condemnation of the behaviour of Croatian Government forces towards United Nations forces. During the events of the end of last week, personnel responsible for peace-keeping were attacked, and some of them were killed. In this connection, my Government extends its condolences to the Governments of the Czech Republic and Denmark. Certain particularly reprehensible acts, such as forcing the blue helmets to move forward in advance of the

forces involved in an offensive, were noted. Those responsible for such violations of the laws of war will have to be brought to trial. In this connection I must point out that my delegation is very concerned at the persistent obstacles placed in the way of the free movement of the rapid reaction force. A French artillery unit still continues to be hemmed in by such obstacles. There is absolutely no justification for this and it is totally unacceptable, because it prevents the effective deployment of the rapid reaction force — an essential component of the United Nations presence in the region.

Finally, the resolution we have just adopted very clearly warns that hostilities should not be pursued in the direction of Sector East, because this would raise by yet another notch the escalation and the risk of generalization of the conflict.

The Croatian Government has chosen not to take into account the repeated warnings the Security Council has addressed to it. Our resolution tells it that the international community and our Council do not absolve it of that choice.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): Italy voted in favour of the resolution just unanimously adopted by the Security Council — in the original drafting of which it participated — fully convinced that it was urgently needed. The resolution focuses on the humanitarian situation in Croatia, following the offensive of the Croatian forces in Krajina — a situation which arouses our deepest concern, especially in light of the recent reports about attacks and abuses against groups of refugees leaving the country. This new wave of 150,000 refugees and displaced persons constitutes another act of the long humanitarian tragedy in the former Yugoslavia. Such a situation could not be ignored by the Security Council. Therefore, the present resolution is both necessary and timely. It is a clear, unequivocal message to the parties, and especially to the Zagreb Government. Moreover, its adoption takes place in the light of the alarming signs of growing tension which come from Sector East, where a further escalation of the conflict might lead to a new and unprecedented scale of hostilities.

We should not forget that the Croatian offensive followed the breakdown of the peace talks in Geneva, under the auspices of Mr. Stoltenberg. This circumstance is particularly regrettable — and it is deeply regretted in the resolution we have just adopted — as a possible breakthrough seemed to be in sight and, in our view, deserved a renewed effort at negotiation instead of the military solution chosen by the Croatian Government.

Therefore, we welcome the fact that in the resolution adopted today the Security Council reiterates its call for a negotiated settlement which guarantees the rights of all communities and urges the Government of the Republic of Croatia to resume the peace talks. I wish to emphasize the words "negotiated settlement".

The fact that the self-styled State entity of the Krajina Serbs has disappeared in no way implies that the problem of the Serb residents in Croatia — who have been living there for many centuries — should be solved through a unilateral initiative by the Croatian Government. A viable solution should be sought by both parties, through negotiation under the auspices of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. Allow me to recall briefly, Mr. President, that my country reached a negotiated agreement with the main linguistic minority living in Italy. We were able to do so through patient negotiation, and we strongly hope that this peaceful path will be followed by the Croatian Government and by the local Serb community.

Another important aspect dealt with by today's resolution is respect for the security and dignity of the United Nations personnel, whose courage and generosity in performing their duties will never be commended enough. Once more we have had to witness the death of three Blue Helmets — one Danish and two Czech — to whose Governments and families I wish to reiterate the deepest sympathy and condolences of the Italian Government and people. Once again United Nations peace-keepers have been subjected to unacceptable and intolerable humiliation and abuses, such as being used as human shields in front of attacking forces. Therefore, we welcome the resolution's strong condemnation of such attacks and abuses and its request to the Croatian Government to refrain from such actions in the future and bring to justice those guilty of any such attack or harassment. We have taken note of the formal assurances given to the Council in this regard a few minutes ago by the Ambassador of Croatia.

One of the reasons why my Government has vigorously condemned the Croatian offensive is the serious risk of a further escalation and generalization of the conflict throughout the former Yugoslavia. Recent reports of abuses by fleeing Krajina Serbs against the remaining Muslim and Croatian communities in the area of Banja Luka show us the sad repercussions on the

highly sensitive ethnic situation in Western Bosnia of this new flow of refugees. They confirm the growing interrelation between the Croatian and the Bosnian cases: every escalation of the conflict in one of those countries inevitably spills over into the other, creating new human tragedies and adding fuel to the fire.

The Government and the people of Italy are extremely sensitive to this new humanitarian emergency, which is taking place so close to our territory. We have provided the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees — whose efforts we all should highly appreciate — with a substantial amount of goods and equipment for initial assistance to the refugees and displaced people. As for the political aspects of the new crisis, our Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mme. Agnelli, has promptly contacted the authorities of Zagreb, Sarajevo and Belgrade, urging all of them to exert the utmost restraint, in order to prevent a general conflagration in the area of the former Yugoslavia, and above all to actively pursue a comprehensive negotiated agreement. We continue to believe strongly that any military action will have no other result than to add to an already too long chain of human suffering, increasing the hate and divisions among the peoples living in that area, and making a comprehensive solution more and more difficult to reach.

To conclude, the Croatian offensive has created an entirely new situation in the area. Needless to say, the mandate of the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) will have to be adapted to this new situation. But we continue to believe that the presence of the United Nations in Croatia must be maintained. It is a necessary guarantee of respect for the human rights of the Serb population, in a difficult moment of transition, which again we hope will lead to a peaceful settlement. Therefore, we look forward to the next report of the Secretary-General on Croatia, and to his recommendations for the future of UNCRO. We hope that they will be submitted to the Council's attention as soon as possible, to help put an end to this difficult time of uncertainty and disarray.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): This is the first time my delegation has spoken this month, Mr. President, so let me at the outset congratulate you on having assumed the presidency of the Security Council and thank Ambassador Martínez Blanco for the job he and his delegation did last month.

The Government of Croatia has long intended to reintegrate parts of its sovereign territory that had been under the control of secessionist Croat Serb authorities. This was Croatia's sovereign right, and it can hardly be faulted for taking steps to this end. What my Government, however, does find strongly deplorable is the fact that the Croatian authorities elected to do so by military means, even at a time when not all diplomatic avenues had been completely exhausted. It had always been the position of my Government that a political solution was preferable, and we are still not convinced that such a solution was impossible.

One consequence of taking Knin and the former Sectors South and North is a wave of refugees unparalleled in the war to date, in a war which has already seen the most dramatic population shifts in Europe since the aftermath of the Second World War.

This refugee wave amounts to massive ethnic cleansing of vast areas of Croatia. Whether the Serb refugees are leaving on their own account or not is immaterial, and we view with scepticism Croat observations that Serb propaganda is solely responsible for their exodus, and assertions that Serbs are welcome in a post-Krajina Croatia.

The Croatian authorities will not, of course, hold people back by force. But they also bear a heavy responsibility to assure elementary dignity of the refugees and unconditionally to protect their human rights. Shelling refugee columns is not the best way to demonstrate respect for these rights. The Croatian authorities also have great responsibilities towards those ethnic Serbs who do elect to stay and to those who may decide to return. In fact, my Government urges them to create conditions in the newly reintegrated territories which will not only be conducive to stanching the refugee outflow but which will also facilitate and encourage the return of refugees.

The Croatian authorities decided to launch their military offensive literally over the heads of United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) personnel. Some, including two of my countrymen, lost their lives in the process. Others were gravely abused. Even today, UNCRO and other United Nations personnel do not have the freedom of movement they urgently need to fulfil their obligations. We deplore the abuse to which certain Croat commanders subjected UNCRO personnel and demand that appropriate measures be taken against them. We call for full freedom of movement of United Nations personnel. But even as we in the Czech Republic mourn our dead, we are

determined to continue shouldering our international responsibilities through our contribution to UNCRO.

At this point let me thank from the depths of my heart, on behalf of my Government, all those who have expressed condolences, either here or in informal consultations, and extend our own condolences to the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark.

The situation of UNCRO has changed dramatically, and we are anxiously awaiting recommendations from the Secretary-General on how best to modify its mandate. We anticipate a need to strengthen the United Nations presence in Eastern Croatia, in the area adjacent to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We strongly warn the Croatian authorities against seeking a military solution in this area, for, in our analysis, such an attempt could lead to a full-fledged war involving far greater military forces, territory and civilian population than ever before, a war that would eclipse anything the South Slav States have witnessed so far. In this context, we appreciate the responsible attitude that States of the region have demonstrated to date and appeal to all parties to seek a solution to the issue of Eastern Slavonia through peaceful means.

In conclusion, we ought to acknowledge that as an incidental result of the Croatian military action the siege of Bihac came to an end. This is an important result from several points of view. How important it was from the humanitarian point of view will become particularly evident when we contrast the fate of the men of Bihac with that of the men of Srebrenica, which we will be considering in our very next meeting.

The President: I thank the representative of the Czech Republic for his kind words addressed to me.

Sir John Weston (United Kingdom): For over three years the international community has worked to secure a negotiated settlement to the conflict in Croatia and to seek the reconciliation of a divided country. Numerous efforts by international mediators have been made without success, not least because of the intransigence of the local Croatian Serb authorities in acknowledging that their future lies as part of the Republic of Croatia.

The British Government is fully aware of the deep frustration experienced by the Croatian Government as a result of this intransigence, and we have repeatedly affirmed our commitment to Croatian sovereignty and territorial integrity and sought to help bring about a negotiated settlement preserving that territorial integrity. But that frustration does not justify a recourse to military action to impose a settlement. Furthermore, the decision to choose the military option, which has been condemned by the British Government, was made at a time when it was clear that the potential for further political negotiations had not been exhausted. It has inevitably meant the loss of innocent life — including lives of United Nations peace-keepers — and the exodus of Croatian Serbs from their rightful homes. Nor are we prepared to condone what has been called de facto "ethnic cleansing". We deeply regret that these Croatian actions have inevitably called into question Croatia's future relations with the rest of Europe.

The immediate priorities now are to bring the fighting to an end; to provide humanitarian relief for the very large numbers of displaced persons — by many estimates well over 100,000; to prevent a resurgence of fighting in Eastern Slavonia and the consequent risks of an escalation in the conflict; and to see that the safety and rights of the members of the Serb community who want to stay in Croatia are guaranteed. Thereafter, we look to all concerned to resume the dialogue on a negotiated settlement, which is the only way in which long-term stability can be assured. We call on all concerned to show the utmost restraint.

We also look, in particular, to the Croatian Government fully to uphold the civil rights of minorities in its country and actively to promote the conditions that will help persuade those Serbs who have fled that it is indeed safe to return and that they will be treated fairly by the local Croatian authorities. If the Croatian Government is to give the lie to accusations of de facto "ethnic cleansing", it must demonstrate by actions, and not just by words, that it is committed to fulfilling its obligations, including those allowed for in its Constitution, as far as civil rights are concerned. This will require a sustained commitment at all levels. Access to the region by international monitors is the essential first step to help re-establish that confidence. The British Government is grateful to Mr. Akashi for his strenuous efforts in that regard.

As a troop contributor to the United Nations peace forces in the former Yugoslavia, the British Government has also joined those who have strongly condemned the attacks on and the treatment of United Nations peace-keepers, who were present in the Republic of Croatia at the request of its Government. Our condolences go to the Danish and Czech Governments, and also to the families

of those soldiers who were killed as a result of actions by the Croatian armed forces. This Council expects the Croatian Government to punish all those responsible without delay, and we expect the Secretary-General to be in a position shortly to confirm that this is in hand. In the meantime, the future of the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) in the Republic of Croatia will need careful consideration, and we, too, look forward to receiving the Secretary-General's recommendations in the near future.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): My Government supports this resolution as an expression of continued commitment by this Council to peace and to the relief of human suffering in the former Yugoslavia.

We regret the decision by the Government of Croatia to launch an offensive against the Krajina region. We also urge all parties to refrain from further attacks, whether within Croatia or in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The latest round of violence has produced yet another flow of civilian refugees within the former Yugoslavia. By tractor, truck, car and cart, tens of thousands have fled the current military operations. The protection of those civilians must be a priority for all parties concerned. The rights of Serbs who choose to remain in Croatia must also be respected. History warns us that the failure to safeguard innocent lives leads only to more hatred, killing and destruction. For this reason, it is essential that international agencies have unimpeded access to observe conditions in Krajina and to provide humanitarian relief where needed.

The turbulence of the past week's events, coupled with restrictive policies imposed by the Government of Croatia, have made it difficult to assess the extent to which Croatian forces or their Bosnian allies may have been guilty of violations of international humanitarian law. My Government expects the war-crimes Tribunal to investigate allegations of abuse against unarmed civilians — including reports that five elderly Serbs were killed and refugees bombed in the village of Dvor — and we will support fully the Tribunal's work.

We join as well in condemning in strong terms the wrongful acts committed against United Nations peace-keeping forces and in the Council's extension of condolences to the families of the Czech and Danish peace-keepers who were killed. In this regard, let me welcome the statement of the representative of Croatia accepting responsibility for attacks on United Nations peace-keepers, making a commitment to investigate these incidents and promising cooperation with the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) and other international organizations.

Many in Croatia have hailed the recent military actions as a great victory. But it is difficult to see how any society can derive real satisfaction from the defeat and flight of hundreds of thousands of its own citizens. This resolution reminds Croatia of its obligation to create conditions conducive to the safe return of those persons who have left their homes, and it stresses the importance of granting access by the International Committee of the Red Cross to those who have been taken prisoner or detained.

At the same time, while we regret the means used, we must also recognize that the new safe area of Bihac is now open to humanitarian relief. For the citizens of Bihac, the long siege is over — and let it remain so.

The events of this past week have not changed the overriding imperative for all parties in the former Yugoslavia, which is to cease the conduct of war and explore instead, with seriousness and good faith, the options that exist for achieving peace. That is the one path towards real security. That is the only way to bring the cycle of disruption and tragedy that has affected all the peoples of the region to an end.

Finally, let met categorically deny the allegation that I was told had been made by Mr. Djokic — that the United States gave tactical advice or logistical support to the Government of Croatia's military operation. This baseless charge can only make it harder for my Government to see the day when Serbia and Montenegro can rejoin the community of nations.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Once again we find ourselves, in the crisis affecting the Balkans, demanding the immediate halting of armed action on the part of a State — action which is clearly a violation of resolutions adopted by this Council. We are doing so — as so often in such instances — for, among other reasons, the purpose of avoiding silence by the Council being construed as a kind of tacit acceptance of a policy of *fait accompli* achieved by force.

Working in such a context is even more difficult when the developments in question occur while there is a redoubling of negotiating efforts to secure a political settlement to the conflict.

In drafting the resolution that the Council adopted a few moments ago, it proved particularly difficult to find words adequately to express the real indignation over the lamentable fact that troops of the peace-keeping forces with which the international community is trying generously to help the parties to resolve their conflicts — a generosity not adequately reciprocated — lost their lives as a result of deliberate action by members of one of these parties. We ask the Governments of the Czech Republic and the Kingdom of Denmark to accept our condolences at the irrational death of their soldiers during the recent massive Croat invasion of Sector South and Sector North.

As we did in the informal consultations before the adoption of the resolution on which the Council has just voted, we take the view that the Government of Croatia must now tell the Council, in detail, of all the measures that we hope and expect will be taken quickly to bring to justice and punish with appropriate severity all those responsible for the attacks and unspeakable abuses against United Nations personnel.

We are obliged to the Secretary-General for his report on the situation in Croatia. In the circumstances of its submission, it is more than understandable that he had to await further developments before being in a position to suggest a course of action with regard to the mandate of the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO). We hope that the Secretary-General will be in a position to communicate his ideas on this subject to us as soon as possible. We take the view that the mandate, and perhaps the very presence, of UNCRO must now be reconsidered in depth realistically, without losing sight of the need to prevent civilians from suffering indiscriminately more than they have already, particularly when refugees and displaced persons are involved. The figures indicating the magnitude of their tragedy are in this case enormous.

Moreover, we expect the Government of Croatia, in accordance with what its Permanent Representative recently told the President of the Security Council, to have regard — and show that regard by deeds and by refraining from specific acts — to the extremely delicate nature of the current situation in the region of Eastern Slavonia.

We must also point out something which, though obvious, must be reiterated: any political solution must be based on negotiation between the parties. But negotiations lose their character as such if the parties do not carry them out with basic good faith, fully respecting that principle with daily, tangible implementation.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Indonesia.

The Indonesian delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution before the Council today since it embodies principles that we have consistently espoused, including commitment to the search for a comprehensive negotiated settlement of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, the need to respect international humanitarian law and the inviolability of all United Nations personnel, as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States of the former Yugoslavia.

My delegation has followed the recent developments in Croatia with deep concern, especially in view of their effects on the civilian population and the inherent risk of escalation of the violence, which could engulf the entire region. The Indonesian delegation appeals to all parties concerned to immediately cease their hostilities and seek to prevent any further widening of the conflict. In this regard, we should like to place particular emphasis on the need for the parties concerned to exercise the utmost restraint in and around Sector East. This conflict can never be solved by resorting to war — an option that will simply lead to greater human suffering, casualties and injustice. We underline the need to leave no stone unturned in the search for a comprehensive, lasting and just settlement to the conflict, not only in Croatia but also in the territories of the former Yugoslavia as a whole.

Further, my delegation welcomes the agreement that has been reached between the Republic of Croatia and the United Nations peace forces to fully respect the rights of the local Serb population, allow access to them by international humanitarian organizations and create conditions conducive to the return of those who have left their homes. My delegation is confident that the Government of Croatia fully appreciates the importance that the international community attaches to its compliance with the letter and spirit of this agreement.

Finally, my delegation would like to express its appreciation to the authors of the resolution and to extend its gratitude to all those United Nations personnel who have risked their lives and made the ultimate sacrifice in the service of peace. In this regard, I should like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's deep condolences to the people and Governments of Denmark and the Czech Republic, and the families concerned, on the untimely and tragic deaths of their personnel, who served valiantly as members of the United Nations peace-keeping forces.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3564

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3564th Meeting

Thursday, 10 August 1995, 5.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wisnumurti	(Indonesia)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Nkgowe
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Eitel
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

95-85826 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 5.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1995/677, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1995/674, letter dated 8 August 1995 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Kazakstan to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1995/679, letter dated 9 August 1995 from the Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on whom I now call.

Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina): While in recent days the international community has focused its attention and activities on the exodus of many thousands of refugees from Croatia rather than on the tragic humanitarian situation that has not ceased in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the bloody details of the expulsion of some 60,000 civilians from the so-called safe areas of Srebrenica and Zepa have disappeared. The destiny of at least 10,000 civilians who never reached the safety of the territory under the control of my Government has been hidden under the dark, deadly curtain that Mladic and Karadzic have thrown over these unfortunate regions — regions that have simply been abandoned by the world.

Behind the slow advance of an ever wider flood of Serbian refugees from Croatia, light has never been shed on the incomparably more severe suffering of those Bosniac Muslims, who, barehanded, stood no chance against the Pale war criminals. With this humiliation and extermination, many of those who even today are not clear whether or not they would protect the remaining safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina have claimed that their mandate was not to protect the civilians or to defend the safe areas.

These very same interpreters of the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina have not shown nearly as much interest, or made nearly as much effort, in preventing the Pale Serb leaders from starting a new series of cruel and savage crimes. Today's discoveries by the United States Government, which appears very lonely in its efforts to establish the truth, disclose the facts and empower the work of the war crimes Tribunal. These discoveries have finally shed more light on what took place in Srebrenica and Zepa. We owe much gratitude to the German delegation and to delegations of the caucus of the Non-Aligned Movement, which have repeatedly raised the issue of the people missing from Zepa and Srebrenica.

The savage terror inflicted by the criminals against the innocent civilians of Srebrenica and Zepa did not manage to receive more attention, despite the repeated appeals by my Government, except for a couple of presidential statements and the occasional statement to the Press.

Today's resolution, we feel, is a small step forward. Nevertheless, this is a resolution that more clearly articulates care, even though it may be irreparably late for many.

When speaking on the draft resolution on Croatia, I expressed my satisfaction that in the alleviation of the situation of Serb refugees from Croatia, certain standards for minimizing the suffering and helping the victims of humanitarian crises have improved, and have risen to a higher level. With this improvement comes swiftness of

action and the inventiveness of humanitarian organization. One proof for this is the intention to use for humanitarian purposes the military airport in Banja Luka, which until now has been used only for carrying out destructive actions and acts of killing Bosnians from the air.

In the meantime, all the appeals of the Bosnian Government directed in the past two years to the United Nations Secretary-General and the Security Council to open the Tuzla airport for humanitarian purposes have not borne fruit. Moreover, Sarajevo airport continues to be closed, upon the dictates of Karadzic's Serbs, despite its status being completely clear and its purpose solely humanitarian. For the fourth month, Sarajevo airport remains closed. The humanitarian situation in the city, coupled with continuing artillery attacks and sniping, is unbearable. We would hope that the criteria and standards of humanitarian actions would be unified, since any classification of victims is only a first step in the chain of injustice.

The humanitarian situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been remarkably alleviated, thanks to the joint actions of the Bosnian and Croatian armies to lift the monstrous siege of Bihac and stop the terrorization resulting from the coordinated actions of the armed gangs of Serbs from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Subsequently, 200,000 inhabitants of the Bihac enclave, who spent three years in complete isolation, without any humanitarian assistance, have been saved.

The joint action of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia most likely saved the face of the international community, whose key members built for weeks the myth that practically nothing could have been done around Bihac, and justified this with the argument that there were too many armies there that were difficult to distinguish. I think the picture of the Bihac pocket is much clearer now.

The humanitarian situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia will be easier to normalize and maintain if UNCRO ensures that its commitments, as accepted in the agreement with Croatia's Government, are fulfilled and that armed Serbs from Krajina surrender their weapons before they cross Bosnia on their way to Serbia. These weapons directly endanger the safety of Serb refugees, since the armed Serbs are provoking actions by firing from the refugee convoys — a matter on which the United Nations Secretariat has or could have some information.

In this draft resolution on Bosnia there is no mention of the destiny of those who have found refuge in Serbia from Zepa, but who have unfortunately become the subject of propaganda exploitation, and, we fear, new tortures, humiliation and even murder.

We request international humanitarian organizations to, without delay, if possible, complete their work on the registration of all those refugees, to continue to search for them and locate them, and to prevent their disappearance or further abuse and subjection to violations of the Geneva Conventions and humanitarian law.

We look forward to prompt reporting by the Secretary-General on these issues, as requested by the Council in the draft resolution.

The President: It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Eitel (Germany): Germany took the initiative which led to the draft resolution on Srebrenica and Zepa now before the Council, because we are appalled and alarmed.

Several weeks after the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa we still do not know about the whereabouts and the fate of about 7,000 to 8,000 unfortunate male Bosnians who were taken prisoners by Bosnian Serbs and led away.

Where are they? What has happened to them? Are they alive and well? Today's news, and in particular the photographs which we have been shown by the Permanent Representative of the United States, increased our concern.

According to the latest update by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), only 164 detainees from Srebrenica and 44 from Zepa are registered so far. We insist that immediate access to all detainees from Srebrenica and Zepa must be granted to international humanitarian organizations. We demand that the safety and well-being of the detainees be ensured and that the civilian Bosnians taken prisoner be released immediately.

We condemn the persistent refusal by the Bosnian Serb party to allow access to representatives of the ICRC to the detainees in question. We cannot tolerate that the Bosnian Serbs are once again playing a cynical "hide and seek" game with international humanitarian organizations. Their practice of refusing to indicate the locations of the detainees, while claiming that they are willing to grant unhindered access to places where representatives of humanitarian organizations want to go, is totally unacceptable. This practice constitutes in itself a serious violation of international humanitarian law. Those responsible among the Bosnian Serb leadership must know such fundamental violations of humanitarian law will only bring them closer to the abyss.

Germany fully supports the ongoing efforts of the ICRC to gain access to the detainees in question. We also urge United Nations representatives to continue their efforts with the priority of finally getting information from Pale as to the whereabouts of the missing men. We continue to hope that they are alive. We will intensively follow this question until, hopefully, these unfortunate Bosnian men are found and released to their families.

We shall, of course, vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): With regard to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, my delegation has mixed feelings and reactions.

On the positive side, we note with satisfaction that the three-year siege on the enclave of Bihac has been lifted and that a supply line for humanitarian assistance to its population has been established. It is a welcome development also to read reports and see pictures of the population of Bihac who, for the first time in three years, have cause to breathe the air of freedom and, hopefully, look forward to a semblance of normal life.

We also hope that the lifting of the siege of the safe area of Bihac from the occupation by the Bosnian Serbs will not be short-lived.

On the other hand, however, the inhabitants of the safe areas of Srebrenica and Zepa were not as lucky as those of Bihac. Their towns have been occupied by Bosnian Serb forces, and they have been forced out of their homes and been made to join the teeming ranks of refugees and displaced persons.

My delegation joins other Council members in reaffirming the total unacceptability of the occupation of these safe areas by the Bosnian Serb forces.

Of more immediate concern, however, are the reports of grave violations of international humanitarian law in and around Srebrenica. As of today over 7,000 young and middle-aged men, former inhabitants of Srebrenica, have not been accounted for. We therefore support the call in paragraph 1 of the resolution that the Bosnian Serb party give immediate access for representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and other international agencies to all the persons in its custody so that they can be duly documented as a first step to their immediate and unconditional release.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to reiterate what we have said in respect of Croatia: that the only hope for a durable and lasting peace is a negotiated settlement which accommodates the concerns of all the constituent groups.

In this connection, the Contact Group must redouble its efforts and demonstrate better unity of action in the promotion of a settlement on the basis of the Contact Group Peace Plan as a starting point.

Finally, it is our view that the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be spared further horrors of war. They have suffered too much and too long from the atrocities committed by those who are also committed to the destruction of their multi-ethnic country.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): Once again, the Security Council meets today in order to discuss the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina — a situation, in our opinion, caused by the continued and systematic aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State of this Organization, namely, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We, however, like the rest of the international community, find ourselves at a point where we have to express our profound alarm and shock for the continuation of war in that part of Europe.

In the last three to four years since the fighting erupted in that area, many resolutions have been adopted by this Council, as well as by many other international

forums, calling on the parties involved to refrain from the use of force and to move steadily towards peaceful options in an attempt to demonstrate their political will and determination to resolve their differences peacefully. However, these calls and demands have not been heard, mainly due to the unreadiness of the Bosnian Serbs to adhere to the peace process.

We regret this outcome and today call yet again on those concerned to accept the Contact Group Peace Plan as a starting point. We believe that if the party concerned had accepted the plan it is very unlikely it would be in the situation in which it finds itself today.

Since the beginning of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, the international community has exerted strenuous efforts to bring the parties one step closer to peace. But, due to the position of one side — the Bosnian Serbs — all those efforts did not yield the expected results. On the contrary, in the last few months we have witnessed an unprecedented twist of events as never before. The United Nations peace-keepers came under direct and deliberate attack by parties, to the point where they were used as human shields. Civilians in the safe areas are shelled and "ethnically cleansed" before the very eyes of the international community, which has an obligation to protect the lives of those civilians who are under the daily threat of Serbian atrocities, a recent example of which was the last attack on the safe areas of Srebrenica and Zepa, which have now fallen into the hands of the Bosnian Serbs.

Thousands of men have been taken by the Bosnian Serbs, and unfortunately we are told officially by the Secretariat that no access to the detainees has been given to the United Nations or the International Committee of the Red Cross. Their whereabouts are not known. This is not acceptable to the international community.

Oman, like the rest of the international community, accepts neither this new escalation of fighting by attacking United Nations peace-keepers nor the status quo prevailing in those safe areas which recently became subject to the policy of "ethnic cleansing". In this regard, we add our voice to those who have called on all those responsible to fully adhere to the repeated calls of the Security Council, as set out in the statements of its President on 20 and 25 July 1995, which demanded that the Bosnian Serb forces withdraw from the safe areas of Srebrenica and Zepa and respect the status of the safe areas and ensure respect for human standards in accordance with international humanitarian law.

My delegation strongly supports the call for the unconditional release of all those who are detained.

Alarming and horrifying reports were revealed in the Council today by those who have witnessed and experienced the Bosnian Serbs' massacres at Srebrenica and Zepa. Oman believes that there is an obligation — a moral obligation, a political obligation — on all members of the international community to work together united with one voice that would say "No" to "ethnic cleansing", "No" to rape of Muslim women and "No" to the continued violations of the safe areas. We believe the time has come for this stand: enough massacres, enough killings, enough torture have taken place.

We pay tribute, a special tribute, to the Secretary-General, to his Special Representative to all United Nations personnel, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations for their efforts to find a peaceful solution in that area and to alleviate the sufferings of the people of that region.

Finally, in the spirit of consensus, because the draft resolution focuses on the humanitarian plight, my delegation will vote in favour of the text before us.

Mr. Nkgowe (Botswana): My delegation is seriously concerned by the reports that thousands of men and boys of military age have today not been accounted for in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the seizure of the enclaves of Srebrenica by the Bosnian Serb forces. The situation is further compounded by the fact that the Bosnian Serbs continue to deny the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross access to the displaced persons in Srebrenica. It is in the light of these concerns that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

We hope the Bosnian Serbs will heed the contents of the draft resolution we are about to adopt. They must understand that they have an obligation under international law to facilitate the registration of all persons they hold prisoner and to treat prisoners of war in accordance with acceptable international standards. We therefore call upon the Bosnian Serbs to give the UNHCR, the ICRC and other international humanitarian agencies immediate access to all the displaced persons from Srebrenica and Zepa.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): Russia, like other members of the Security Council, has sternly condemned the actions of the

Bosnian Serb army in Srebrenica in violation of Security Council decisions on safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We are concerned by reports of flagrant violations of the norms of international humanitarian law in Srebrenica, which we believe should be duly investigated, and by the unavailability of information on the whereabouts of many former inhabitants of Srebrenica. We support the demand made in the draft resolution that the Bosnian Serbs give access for representatives of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and other international agencies to those who have been displaced from Srebrenica and Zepa. It is also necessary that prisoners of war be treated properly and in accordance with international norms. We expect the report of the Secretary-General, to be submitted no later than 1 September, to shed light on the reported violations of international humanitarian law, and if such violations are confirmed the Security Council will have to respond appropriately.

The lesson to be learned from events in Srebrenica and Zepa is that we need to address directly the concept of safe areas and the modalities for implementing that concept. It is important to take steps to determine what kind of safe area is acceptable to both sides. The relevant agreements should include an agreement on the demilitarization of all territories. If this had been done earlier, as Russia repeatedly proposed, the tragic events in and around Zepa and Srebrenica might have been avoided. Unfortunately, there was no timely, positive response to our appeals. We must correct that mistake, even at this late date.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): Although the military action in Croatia has preoccupied us in recent days, we must not forget the tragedy and outrages perpetrated earlier in Bosnia against the eastern enclaves of Srebrenica and Zepa. We must not forget those Bosnian Serb attacks, because the magnitude of the suffering they caused was enormous, even in the grim context of the former Yugoslavia. As many as 13,000 men, women and children were driven from their homes and forced to seek refuge in already heavily burdened cities under Government control, some even across the border in Serbia.

We must not forget Srebrenica and Zepa because these are areas for which this Council assumed a special responsibility. These were United Nations-protected safe areas. These were areas where we hoped our authority and legitimacy, as the voice of the international community, would offer protection from violence and attack. Tragically, the authority of this Council and the good opinion of the world appear to mean little to the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs.

We must not forget what happened in Srebrenica and Zepa, because the story of what happened there is not over. It certainly has not been fully told, and innocent lives remain at stake.

Some 10,000 civilians from Srebrenica and around 3,000 from Zepa are missing and unaccounted for. Some may be in hiding. Some may be in detention. Some are most certainly dead. We have a responsibility to investigate, to find out what we can and to see that those in hiding are granted safe passage, that those in detention are well treated or released, that the names of those who died or who were killed are made known to their families and that those responsible for illegal and outrageous activities are brought to justice.

We must not forget what happened in Srebrenica and Zepa, because there are strong grounds to believe, especially with respect to Srebrenica, that the Pale Serbs beat, raped and murdered many of those fleeing the violence. These dead were not killed in the heat of battle, they were not killed in self-defence and they were not killed by accident; they were systematically slaughtered on the instructions of the Bosnian Serb leadership.

We know this from the credible accounts of refugees who witnessed these crimes, including persons interviewed by our Government. And we know it from sensitive information shared earlier today with members of this Council, unique information obtained by the United States. The combination of these eyewitness accounts and our intelligence data provides compelling evidence of barbarous and systematic murder by the Bosnian Serbs.

The resolution we have adopted today demands that the Bosnian Serbs give immediate access to persons displaced from Srebrenica and Zepa who are in the areas under Bosnian Serb control. The resolution demands further that access be granted to persons detained against their will, requires that the rights of persons detained be respected, and reiterates that those who commit violations of international humanitarian law will be held accountable — as individuals — for those acts.

Representatives from the appropriate international organizations are ready now — today — to travel to the areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina where those displaced by the violence in Srebrenica and Zepa are most likely to be. This resolution makes it clear that the Bosnian Serbs have a responsibility to permit them safe passage and to allow them to do their jobs.

The United States Government strongly supports this resolution. It is important that we focus international attention on the plight of the refugee population from Srebrenica and Zepa. We do not know all that has happened to them, but we do know that we all have a responsibility to find out.

We cannot allow ourselves, nor can we allow others, simply to shrug off the crimes committed in the aftermath of Srebrenica as an inevitable side-effect of ethnic conflict. We cannot accept rape or beatings or the murder of civilians as legitimate tactics of war. I am reminded of the words of the poet Archibald MacLeish, who wrote in 1940 of the world's passive response to the rise of fascism:

> "Murder is not absolved of immorality by committing murder. Murder is absolved of immorality by bringing men to think that murder is not evil. This only the perversion of the mind can bring about. And the perversion of the mind is only possible when those who should be heard in its defence are silent".

Establishing the truth about what has happened in Srebrenica and throughout the Balkans war is essential not only to justice, but to peace. Responsibility for the atrocities committed does not rest with the Serbs or any other people as a group: it rests with the individuals who ordered and committed the crimes. And true reconciliation will not be possible in this region until the perception of collective guilt is expunged and personal responsibility is assigned.

The President: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/677.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1010 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Ladsous (France) *(interpretation from French)*: The operation that the Bosnian Serbs have mounted against the safe areas of Srebrenica and Zepa is in itself particularly grave — something that was made clear in the case of Srebrenica, in resolution 1004 (1995), whose adoption my delegation helped to secure.

The latest resolution, which the Council has just adopted, addresses a specific problem stemming from the Bosnian Serb attacks on those areas. I am referring to the treatment meted out to the displaced persons from among the civilian population, as well as to the soldiers who were taken prisoner in these attacks.

With respect to the displaced persons, we still have no news concerning thousands of people who were taken away from Srebrenica and to whom no humanitarian organization has been able to gain access. Such access must be granted immediately, and as long as these civilians, held illegally, have not been released, the forces detaining them are wholly responsible for their safety.

As to the soldiers taken prisoner, it would appear that the International Committee of the Red Cross has not yet been authorized — in violation of humanitarian law — to visit them or enabled to register them.

This situation, which involves criminal liability for those responsible for it, must come to an end immediately. The Council requests the Secretary-General to report to it before the end of the month concerning measures taken to end this situation. It is, moreover, possible that before that date it will have to take action again on this question, which involves the fate of thousands of civilians subjected to vile and barbaric treatment. We owe it to ourselves, where they are concerned, to remain especially vigilant on this matter.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): We are still horrified by the circumstantial elements that Ambassador Albright introduced this morning in the Council, indicating the very serious possibility that the mass murder of unarmed people from Srebrenica may have taken place near Bratunac a short time ago.

We believe that it is in the very interests of the Bosnian Serb leadership to immediately allow an international inquiry into this episode, which, if confirmed, would be one of the most abominable crimes against humanity since the Second World War. Needless to say, however, not even such a horrible mass murder, if confirmed, would justify acquiescence in atrocities committed by others in the former Yugoslavia.

It is in this spirit, and under the effect of such emotions, that we have just adopted the resolution on the tragic humanitarian aspect of this Srebrenica case. Like all other representatives who have spoken, we are deeply concerned over the fate of more than 7,000 people — our German colleague mentioned 7,000 to 8,000 people — who are still unaccounted for several weeks after the occupation by the Bosnian Serb forces of the safe area of Srebrenica. In his daily and highly appreciated briefings to the Council, Ambassador Gharekhan has continued to report on the absolute lack of news regarding those persons — whether they are still alive, and the places where they may be detained.

This situation is totally unacceptable. The Bosnian Serb forces have agreed to grant the International Red Cross access to all detained people from Srebrenica and Zepa. But, so far, these commitments have not been honoured. Words have not been followed by deeds.

Therefore, the resolution which has just been adopted is an opportune and timely initiative. Reaffirming resolution 1004 (1995) and the presidential statement of 25 July, which asked the Bosnian Serbs to immediately withdraw from the two "safe areas" — a definition which in the present circumstances sounds highly ironic — it very rightly expresses deep concern over reports of grave violations of international and humanitarian law in and around Srebrenica and demands that the Pale authorities grant the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other international agencies immediate access to persons displaced from Srebrenica and Zepa who are under the control of their forces.

Furthermore, the United Nations or the Red Cross should be permitted at once to visit and register any detained person and conduct an immediate investigation of the places of the presumed mass graves, informing the International Tribunal for crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia about their findings. Further procrastination or, even worse, denial of such an authorization should simply not be tolerated by the international community and by this Council.

The images of the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa which the media have transmitted all over the world and the reports of the refugees and displaced persons who have left those areas are very much alive in the memory of the Italian people. Therefore, we welcome the present initiative of the Security Council and very much hope that it will finally convince the Bosnian Serb leadership to comply with the most basic, elementary rules of human behaviour.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): This Council expressed itself on the situation in Srebrenica and Zepa last month, and what concerns us here today is the aftermath of the Bosnian Serbs' overrunning of these two safe areas — if that is the right expression.

Several thousand men and boys are missing. Bosnian Serb authorities have been refusing to provide any information about their fate or to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross, or any other outside observer for that matter, access to them. We fear the worst, and just today these fears have been strengthened by an important report in *The New York Times* and by evidence presented to the Council earlier by the United States delegation. These reports suggest that those missing have become victims of one of the greatest atrocities of this war. The possibility of several thousand Bosnians having been butchered stirs the memory of the Katyn forest, where during the Second World War Stalin's murderers similarly butchered several thousand officers of the Polish Army.

Confirmation of these reports would raise the spectre of war criminality in its most heinous form. Abuses by individuals occur in most wars, but wholesale murder of thousands requires organization and orders from high-level authorities. There is no doubt that these authorities — that is to say, every one of the responsible individuals — will be identified, tried by the International Tribunal, and for ever stigmatized and ostracized by the international community.

Sir John Weston (United Kingdom): Barely one month ago, this Council, following the adoption of resolution 1004 (1995), expressed grave concern at the plight of the civilian population in Srebrenica as a result of Bosnian Serb attacks, and demanded unimpeded access to the area for the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other

international humanitarian agencies. The Council's adoption today of a further resolution underlines the international community's continuing concern about increasing reports that atrocities have taken place in and around Srebrenica and Zepa following the Bosnian Serb military offensive. It is particularly worrying that the whereabouts of so many inhabitants of Srebrenica are still unknown; the evidence provided to Council members today by the United States delegation was particularly disturbing.

The British Government therefore joins with others in demanding that the Bosnian Serb authorities give immediate access to the international humanitarian agencies, and cooperate fully and unreservedly with the efforts of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and others to determine the whereabouts of those still unaccounted for. We look for the early release of those who are still detained, and we remind the Bosnian Serb authorities of their obligation under international humanitarian law to ensure the safety and well-being of those who are under their control.

The focus of events in the former Yugoslavia has already shifted elsewhere since the attacks last month on Srebrenica and Zepa. But it is imperative that the international community should not forget or lose sight of those civilians still suffering from the consequences of those attacks. By the beginning of next month, the Secretary-General will report back to the Council on progress in respect of implementation of the resolution that we have just adopted. The British Government looks forward to that report. The onus is now on the Bosnian Serb authorities to demonstrate whether or not they are prepared to cooperate constructively.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The conflict in the Balkans has continued to grow qualitatively worse in a whirlwind that has swept away the resolutions of this Council and breached all the limits established by civilization. Meanwhile, as on other occasions, we in the Security Council are striving, given the circumstances, to prevent the deterioration of a situation created by the flagrant violation of established norms in this sphere.

The unjustifiable attacks on the safe areas of Zepa and Srebrenica constitute yet another step towards the abyss. In our view, they also mark a fresh challenge to the decisions of the organized international community and a spectacle as cowardly as it is senseless.

With resolution 1004 (1995) we sought to remedy the consequences of one of these attacks, and to avoid worse ills by attempting to facilitate intervention by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), among other humanitarian organizations, whose presence has been made essential by this shameful situation. Unfortunately, once more today we are obliged to say to the Bosnian Serbs that free access to these areas is essential for all personnel of humanitarian agencies. The Serb party must meet this requirement. Otherwise, it will give credence to the grave accusations and suppositions concerning its possible serious and repeated violations of international humanitarian law in these areas. We must say in this connection that the evidence of these violations presented to us day after day challenges our ability to absorb it. Today has been such a day.

Of course, our action does not end there. We must also remind the Bosnian Serbs of the self-evident fact that they, like everyone else, are accountable to the international community for any violations of humanitarian law they may have committed. That account will be settled sooner or later; it is only a matter of time.

I want to touch on two final points. The first is the rather bitter taste left in the mouth of my delegation by the two resolutions we have adopted today, and by their having been considered as a sort of package. In both resolutions we address possible or alleged violations of humanitarian law. No violation of such norms is more or less serious, appalling or unacceptable just because another party to a conflict may also have committed similar violations. That can never be the case.

The second concerns the ever more pressing need to find a political solution to the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. My delegation hopes that countries with a real capacity to take action towards a settlement will pool their efforts and act now. Only their concerted action can make the parties abandon the option of armed conflict, which, as we have repeatedly said, cannot be used to build a lasting peace.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Indonesia.

The Security Council has today consecutively adopted two separate draft resolutions, one on Croatia and now one on Bosnia and Herzegovina. The adoption of these resolutions serves as a reminder of the fact that

the conflicts in the two countries are closely interlinked. Further, we view the adoption of the two resolutions as symbolizing the international community's renewed determination to arrest the cycle of violence and the logic of war which for far too long have dominated the mind-set of those directly involved.

The Indonesian delegation is firmly committed to the demands contained in the resolution that has just been adopted. We condemn the Bosnian Serbs' seizure of the safe areas of Srebrenica and Zepa, and their violations of humanitarian law in those areas. We are appalled by reports, confirmed today, of atrocities, mass murder and other violations of humanitarian law committed by the Bosnian Serbs against Bosnian men and boys in Srebrenica. These reported atrocities underline the need for prompt action by the international community to ensure Bosnian Serb compliance with the demands contained in the resolution. In this regard, we would like in particular to echo the demand for safe access for representatives of United Nations and other international agencies to persons in need of humanitarian assistance. The fulfilment of this demand is crucial for the safety and security of those members of the civilian population of Srebrenica and Zepa who are still unaccounted for. The international community should continue to work towards their unconditional and immediate release.

Finally, my delegation would like to express our appreciation to the sponsors of the draft resolution, and to extend our appreciation to the women and men of the United Nations Protection Force and the International Committee of the Red Cross, who have done their utmost to alleviate the suffering of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina in their hour of need.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers on the list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3565

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3565th Meeting

Tuesday, 15 August 1995, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wisnumurti	(Indonesia)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Nkgowe
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Egunsola
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

Commemoration of the end of the Second World War in the Asia-Pacific region

95-85832 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Commemoration of the end of the Second World War in the Asia-Pacific region

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I would like to make the following statement on behalf of the members of the Security Council:

"It was fifty years ago that the Asia-Pacific region saw the end of the Second World War, a devastating war that shattered the lives of tens of millions of people in this region. On this solemn occasion, we pay tribute to those who laid down their lives and the other victims of the war.

"Having survived the catastrophe of the Second World War, mankind sought to embrace new means to prevent the recurrence of such a tragedy. To this end, the United Nations was established, with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security conferred on the Security Council by the Charter.

"Unity and harmony among nations would be the most honourable and noble way to pay tribute to those who sacrificed their lives for peace during the Second World War. For this reason, it is appropriate for the Security Council to pay homage on this anniversary to all the victims of the Second World War in the Asia-Pacific region."

May I now invite the members of the Council to observe a minute of silence in memory of the victims of the Second World War.

The members of the Security Council observed a minute of silence.

The President: The Security Council has thus concluded its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.30 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3566

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3566th Meeting

Wednesday, 16 August 1995, 5 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wisnumurti	(Indonesia)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Nkgowe
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Egunsola
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of paragraph 6 of Security Council resolution 997 (1995) of 9 June 1995 (S/1995/552)

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1995/678)

95-85838 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 5.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of paragraph 6 of Security Council resolution 997 (1995) of 9 June 1995 (S/1995/552)

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1995/678)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Zaire, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji (Zaire) took a place at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of paragraph 6 of Security Council resolution 997 (1995) of 9 June 1995, document S/1995/552, and the progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, document S/1995/678.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/703, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1995/547, letter dated 5 July 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Rwanda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1995/683, *note verbale* dated 10 August 1995 from the Permanent Mission of Zaire to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the representative of Zaire. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): It is a pleasure for me and my delegation, Sir, to see you presiding over the work of the Security Council this month. We know your ability, and we know that the Council is in good hands.

As the Council considers a draft resolution by which it would lift the embargo on the supply of arms to Rwanda, I wish to convey Zaire's gratitude to Council members, who have worked tirelessly to improve the text that was initially proposed. At the same time, we must stress that the compromise text of the draft resolution on lifting the embargo on the supply of arms and related matériel to Rwanda, which the Council is soon to adopt, although it has indeed taken into account some aspects of Zaire's position, falls far short of our expectations, given the deterioration of the situation and the exacerbation of tension in the region.

By suspending the embargo on the supply of arms to Rwanda for a trial period of one year, the Security Council would authorize Rwanda to obtain military equipment and other modern, sophisticated war matériel at a time when it is barely concealing its warlike intentions and when it is threatening to attack refugee camps in Zaire. It is also a time when Rwanda is not promoting a climate of understanding and national reconciliation, but, rather, is encouraging new flows of refugees to Zaire, which has the appearance of the expulsion of Rwanda's own nationals for political, ethnic and tribal reasons.

In other words, even though the Security Council has included conditions in this text, adoption of the draft resolution will not contribute to easing tension in the region.

Facing this situation, Zaire is justified in derogating from the principle that refugees should not be subjected to measures such as refusal of entry at the border or, if they have already entered a territory where they seek asylum, expulsion or deportation to another State where

they may be persecuted. Indeed, in accordance with article 3 of the General Assembly's Declaration on Territorial Asylum, of 14 December 1967, any State Member of the United Nations can derogate from the principles enunciated therein for overriding reasons of national security or in order to safeguard its population, as in the case of a mass influx of persons.

Clearly, in this case Zaire intends to give the persons concerned the option of finding another host State.

So far, out of solidarity and a sense of humanity, the Republic of Zaire has not wanted to resort to those provisions, convinced, on the one hand, that the United Nations and the international community would do everything possible to alleviate Zaire's burden and to facilitate the return of refugees to their countries of origin, and on the other hand, that the sister Rwandese Republic would assume in good faith its obligations under the tripartite agreement between Zaire, Rwanda and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on the repatriation of Rwandan refugees, which was signed in Kinshasa on 21 October 1994. Unfortunately, this has not happened, and the Republic of Zaire cannot indefinitely sacrifice its own security for the sake of unilateral solidarity and humanitarianism, which could be suicidal.

That is why, as the Council is about to adopt the draft resolution before it, Zaire would like to draw the Council's and the international community's attention to the worsening of the situation on the eastern borders of our country. We would like the Security Council to address the situation. The Republic of Zaire would like to inform the Council here and now that if the situation should degenerate we will hold the Kigali Government and the Bujumbura Government responsible.

The Security Council should attach priority to the disarmament of the militias, of course, but we should bear in mind the recent massacre of a group of peaceful Italians. The Republic of Zaire wishes to take this opportunity to express its most heartfelt condolences to Italy over the loss of those peaceful people who were working for an organization with laudable goals and who were savagely massacred.

I would like to ask the Security Council to bear in mind what I have said the next time it considers the situation in Rwanda and to take it to heart.

The President: I thank the representative of Zaire for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his report on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), dated 8 August 1995, submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 997 (1995). We consider the report positive. It shows that there have been improvements in the security situation; that the Government of Rwanda continues to take measures aimed at establishing the environment of confidence needed for the voluntary return of refugees in conditions of security and dignity; and that the Government also continues striving to strengthen the administration of justice, establish public order and promote national reconciliation.

Indeed, national reconciliation is a task that the Government of Rwanda must deal with as a priority. In the context of that task, it is undeniably important to strengthen the country's judicial system and simultaneously to adopt measures intended to promote human rights and to see that those rights are respected. This means the establishment of conditions that can produce the climate of confidence needed for the return of the refugees.

It is also satisfying to know that the maintenance of security in the country has improved and that the Government is now cooperating more closely with UNAMIR in the fulfilment of its mandate.

With regard to the task of national reconstruction, it is encouraging to know that the donor community and United Nations organs have met and have acknowledged the need to speed up the distribution of funds already committed for Rwanda. This would no doubt provide great support for the reconstruction of the country's infrastructure and for restoring and building up its national production capability.

Unfortunately, all the efforts made by the Government of Rwanda, with the assistance of the international community, to recover from the effects of the tragic events of 1994 could be thwarted by destabilization provoked from outside Rwanda — with repercussions for neighbouring countries — if there is no reduction in tensions and if lack of security persists in the parts of Zaire bordering Rwanda. These tensions exist because of reports of military training and weapons transfers to members of the former Government forces and militias that plan to attack the established Government. Therefore, the international community, which has been playing a leading role in the reconstruction of Rwanda and in the promotion of repatriation and reconciliation, must take measures such as the Government of Zaire; suggested establishment of an international commission to deal with reports of arms supplies to the forces of the former Rwandan Government.

In general, my delegation is in agreement with the Secretary-General's observations and conclusions in his report. We support his initiatives to convene a regional conference to study the interrelated problems of peace, security and development in the Great Lakes subregion.

My delegation also believes that the draft resolution makes it possible for the Rwandan Government to address its internal-security problem, along with a number of related problems. It also provides a clear-cut monitoring mechanism for the restrictions imposed by paragraph 13 of resolution 918 (1994).

In conclusion, I wish to say that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution because it contains the elements we believe essential for helping the people of Rwanda achieve peace, stability, confidence, reconstruction and the security the country needs.

Mr. Nkgowe (Botswana): It is a matter of public record that Security Council resolution 918 (1994), of 17 May 1994, was adopted at the height of one of the most tragic events in the history of Rwanda. The arms embargo was aimed at a Government which had planned, masterminded and presided over the mass execution of its own people. Today, the embargo is clearly applied not only against the wrong Government but against the one that has stopped the genocide.

The delegation of Botswana fully understands that, while it is true that the arms embargo now applies to a Government which committed no crime at all, it is equally true that the geopolitical and military situation in the Great Lakes subregion of Africa made it necessary for the Security Council to maintain the arms embargo for some time. There was no deliberate intention on the part of the Security Council to punish Rwanda or its new Government. The primary concern was to stem the flow of arms to a volatile subregion of Africa which could easily be engulfed by military conflict and thus threaten international peace and security. In our view, the arms embargo was also in the interests of the people of Rwanda, who needed relative peace and stability to re-establish their State institutions without the threat of war. However, recent developments have rendered the maintenance of the arms embargo politically untenable.

Elements of the former Rwanda armed forces have for some months now been engaged in military training and an arms build-up, in readiness for ultimately invading Rwanda. The Secretary-General's report submitted to the Council in June 1995 indicated that there was an increase in the militarization of the refugee camps and in cross-border incursions. These developments were of such a magnitude that the Security Council adopted resolution 997 (1995), of 9 June 1995, in which it affirmed that the arms embargo applied to Rwandese nationals in neighbouring States as well. The Council also deemed it appropriate to request the Secretary-General to undertake consultations with neighbouring States to explore the possibility of deploying military observers in the airfields and other transportation routes. A solution has still to be found, as no agreement was reached on the deployment of the observers.

The Security Council has repeatedly reminded the Government of Rwanda that it has primary responsibility to create conditions conducive to national reconciliation. This responsibility entails guaranteeing the security and safety of the people of Rwanda. The Council reaffirmed this primary responsibility of the Government of Rwanda in resolution 997 (1995). There can no longer be any justification for the continued denial to the Government of Rwanda of the wherewithal to defend itself and the people of Rwanda when a clear threat exists to the national security of the country.

Rwanda, like every other State, has the legitimate right of self-defence. We all know that no one would come to the defence of the people of Rwanda in the event of a determined offensive by elements of the forces of the former Rwandese Government. The Government of Rwanda continues to make concerted efforts to create a climate conducive to national healing and reconciliation, and we do not believe that elements of the former

Government forces should be allowed to disrupt this process.

The lifting of the arms embargo on Rwanda should not be misconstrued as licence for military preparations by anyone. This would be unacceptable as it would lead to an increase in tension and instability in the subregion. It is the hope of my delegation that the action of the Council will serve to deter those who committed genocide and who still entertain the idea of shooting their way back to Kigali to continue their despicable deeds. The international community should be united in its resolve to ensure that there will never be any repetition of the events which started in April 1994. The message to the Government of Rwanda is also loud and clear. Paragraph 6 of the draft resolution before us calls upon the Government to create conditions which will enable the over 2 million refugees to return in honour and dignity. The return of the refugees is at the heart of Rwanda's problems. The acquisition of defensive capability is only a temporary measure. The real solution will come with the return of the refugees, national reconciliation and durable peace in the country, and we encourage the continued efforts of the Government of Rwanda in this regard.

My delegation attaches the utmost importance to the political and diplomatic efforts aimed at finding solutions to the problems facing Rwanda and the States of the Great Lakes subregion. Operative paragraph 5 correctly requests the Secretary-General to report on his efforts for the preparation and convening of a regional conference on security, stability and development within one month of the adoption of this draft resolution.

According to the Secretary-General's report, the Government of Rwanda has taken steps to improve relations with its neighbours. These efforts form a good basis for subregional cooperation and they have the full support of my delegation.

Mr. Egunsola (Nigeria): My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his latest report on the situation in Rwanda and the activities of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). We are encouraged by the Government's efforts in trying to stabilize the political, security and socio-economic conditions of the country 12 months after what the Secretary-General himself has described as one of the most tragic chapters in Africa's history. Starting almost from scratch and with no infrastructures or public revenue, the Government in Kigali must be congratulated on its achievements. The international community has a moral duty to assist and complement the efforts of the Government, particularly in the areas of justice and national reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction, the humanitarian situation and the return of refugees.

Although the security situation in Rwanda has improved, thanks to the combined efforts of the Government and UNAMIR, tension and lack of security also continue to be reported along the borders, in particular from areas of Zaire adjacent to Rwanda. Reports of infiltration and sabotage by armed elements, as well as allegations that members of the forces of the former Government are conducting military training and receiving deliveries of arms, have greatly heightened tensions in the border areas. In fact the Governments of Zaire and Rwanda recently admitted that the situation in the border zone had further deteriorated.

My delegation has supported the request of Rwanda — as part of measures to stabilize the situation and assure the Government of Rwanda of its own security — that restrictions on the acquisition of arms imposed under resolution 918 (1994) in so far as they relate to the Government of Rwanda, be lifted. This would not only enable the Government to defend itself and its citizens, but also serve to deter military adventurism from opponents of the Government from outside. We believe that the mere knowledge that the Government is in a position to properly defend itself will make them think twice. To that end, Nigeria together with other members of the caucus of the Non-Aligned Movement, initiated the draft resolution before us today.

I believe we all appreciate the fact that no Government will sit by idly when a force determined to obliterate it is forming and arming a few miles across its border. And if we are to save the people of Rwanda, who have already suffered so much, from being subjected to another cycle of violence we have to act now, particularly as we know that any military action in Rwanda would further destabilize the already unstable situation in the whole area of the Great Lakes. Moreover, if we expect the Government of Rwanda to take full responsibility for peace and security inside the country, we cannot deny the Government the legitimate means with which to carry out this responsibility.

None the less, my Government is not unaware of the other side of the argument, that introducing more weapons to an already volatile environment has its own destabilizing effects. That was why the caucus of the Non-Aligned Movement incorporated into the text of the

draft resolution safeguards to ensure that the weapons get only to the intended beneficiary and are put to the use to which a legitimate Government has a right, that is, self-defence: no more, no less. Furthermore, in order to ensure transparency and, more important, to assure the international community — particularly the neighbouring States — that the arms will be put to legitimate defensive purposes alone, we have agreed to a one-year trial period during which these restrictions will only be suspended. My delegation also supports the proposal to establish a commission to conduct a full investigation of allegations of illegal arms flows into the subregion.

We look forward in the next 12 months to a termination of the arms embargo as it relates to the Government of Rwanda. We are confident that security conditions both within and outside Rwanda's borders will have improved substantially, making the further acquisition of arms by the Government unnecessary even after the arms embargo is lifted.

To make this possible, however, necessary steps in the areas of justice, national reconciliation and political accommodation will have to be undertaken by the Government of Rwanda, supported by the international community. For the moment, we are encouraged by the further steps that have been taken to get the International Tribunal for Rwanda up and running. We hope it will be able to commence substantive work in the near future. We agree that in the meantime something has to be done about the serious congestion in the prisons, which constitutes a major humanitarian crisis. The Government of Rwanda requires the assistance of the international community in order to improve the prison conditions.

With regard to the return of the refugees, we believe that some of the steps being taken by the Government, as well as the proposals for a regional approach that were agreed in Nairobi and Bujumbura, would, if implemented, address the urgent problems facing the repatriation of refugees. We also support the proposals put forward by the Secretary-General to encourage dialogue among all sectors of Rwandese society, including those in the diaspora but not those suspected or implicated in last year's genocide.

On the performance of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), we commend the contributions that have been made and continue to be made by UNAMIR personnel in the discharge of their mandates; and call upon the Government of Rwanda to continue to extend the necessary cooperation to UNAMIR.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his personal commitment to ensuring the stability of the region, as evidenced by his recent visit to the area.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Africa, given its vast size and natural and human resources, has great potential for development. However, the disintegration of the bipolar world has had a huge impact on Africa, which is now in great need of an environment of peace, unity and stability. China has always paid great attention to developments in Africa. We deeply sympathize with the conflict-torn African continent in the post-cold-war era and with its peoples in their suffering caused by the conflicts.

China attaches importance to Africa. It has been an important component of China's foreign policy to support the African peoples in their endeavours to maintain peace and stability, and to strengthen friendly relations of cooperation with all African countries. We support the reasonable demands and just stands of African countries in international affairs. That is precisely what the Chinese delegation has been doing at the United Nations, including in the Security Council.

Since the outbreak of the crisis in Rwanda, the international community — particularly the Organization of African Unity and Rwanda's neighbours — have made commendable efforts towards the early restoration of peace and stability in that country. The Rwandese Government has done tremendous work in promoting national reconciliation, repatriating refugees, rebuilding the homeland and improving the security situation throughout the country. At present, stability is gradually returning to Rwanda. There has also been some improvement in relations between the Rwandese Government and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR).

All these are welcome developments. However, the repatriation of Rwandese refugees and displaced persons is proceeding slowly. The humanitarian situation remains grim. The flow of weapons into Rwanda has yet to be controlled. These problems, if not solved promptly, will severely undermine the process of national reconciliation undertaken by the Rwandese Government. Therefore, we believe that the Security Council should accord the same attention to the question of Rwanda that it accords to other regions and that the international community should continue to take measures to help the Rwandese Government and people resolve their current difficulties

so that they can enjoy peace and stability again at an early date.

In the light of the changed situation in Rwanda and at the request of the Rwandese Government, the Security Council today will adopt a resolution concerning the lifting of the arms embargo against the Rwandese Government. We hope that this move by the Council will contribute to national reconciliation in Rwanda within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement. We also hope to see an early solution to the arms problem in refugee camps outside Rwanda, in order to establish conditions for the repatriation of refugees.

Based on its consistent position of support for the peace process in Rwanda, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. We sincerely hope that the Rwandese people will, under the leadership of their Government, continue to work together to build Rwanda into a country of peace and stability.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Russian Federation has repeatedly expressed its serious concern over the complicated and explosive situation in the Great Lakes subregion. The current hotbed of tension has been significantly exacerbated by the uncontrolled spread of arms among civilians and refugees, which has created a real threat to the peace and stability of all countries of the region.

We are especially concerned by outside reports on military preparations and the increasing incursions of forces of the former Rwandan regime that are trying to destabilize the situation in Rwanda, whose people have just begun to heal their wounds after last year's unprecedented tragedy. We fully share the opinion expressed by the Secretary-General in his report of 8 August to the Security Council that the inhabitants of Rwanda, who have suffered so terribly, must not fall victim to yet another cycle of violence.

The Russian delegation is firmly convinced that the tasks of ensuring security and strengthening peace and stability in Rwanda and throughout the region can be fulfilled only through a careful and integrated approach to the elimination of the causes of conflict and tension. It goes without saying that the Government of Rwanda, especially in the light of the imminent major reduction of the United Nations presence in that country, should be allowed to meet its own need for weapons within the limits of a sufficient defence capacity.

At the same time, in the light of the fragile situation in Rwanda and in a number of neighbouring countries, it is important that this process take place under firm international control and that it proceed in accordance with an internal settlement and with the changes in the military and political situation in the Central African region.

Parallel with this, measures should be taken, in our view, to bring about cooperation with the Governments of the countries of the region to curb the illegal inflow of weapons and to prevent their delivery to forces of the former Government on the territory of States around Rwanda and also within the refugee camps. An important step in this direction might be the deployment of United Nations military observers on the territory of those countries, and also the rapid establishment of a commission of inquiry into the illegal delivery of arms to armed units of the former Government of Rwanda.

At the same time, we assume that these measures will not have their full effect in terms of the long-term strengthening of peace and security if priority is not given to peace negotiations. In this connection, we fully support the idea of rapidly convening a regional conference on security, stability and development, and also of convening a regional meeting to solve problems related to the repatriation of refugees. It is extremely important to develop dialogue within Rwanda, with the participation of representatives of all sectors of the population of the country, and also through the efforts of the Government of Rwanda to strengthen conditions of stability and confidence that would ensure the return of refugees from neighbouring States. We think that it is precisely this type of integrated approach that will ensure a genuine settlement of the problems of Rwanda and of the subregion.

In the Russian delegation's opinion, the draft resolution we are now considering in the Security Council is a balanced and careful text and fully responds to these tasks. We are prepared to support its adoption.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): One year after the end to the genocide in Rwanda, one year after the end of the civil war, Rwandan authorities and the people of Rwanda have accomplished a very great deal in reconstructing their country. For this, they deserve our admiration and congratulations.

Problems remain, of course. Of these, none is more pressing than that of the refugees. Gathered in the

millions in camps just outside the country, they are, on the one hand, being controlled, even terrorized, by camp leaders, partisans of Rwanda's previous genocidal regime, and, on the other hand, being demoralized by the ready handouts provided through the international community's generosity — handouts that are an easier source of livelihood than working the fields in their home villages.

Even more disturbing are reports of arms trafficking in the camps and of possible preparations for another military conflagration in the area. This gives the camp leadership a Khmer-Rouge tint, to be sure. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the draft resolution under consideration is operative paragraph 2, which would kick off a process that would eventually, we hope, lead to a thorough investigation of arms flows in the region; and we are pleased that the Government of Zaire has expressed its support for the establishment of a commission of inquiry to this effect.

If the return of refugees is hindered by their campmasters, on the one side, they are not assured of a terribly warm welcome in Rwanda, on the other side. Unlike the situation of the camps, this is a situation over which Rwandan authorities have far greater control. Paradoxically, as domestic stability is ever more firmly established, the relative weight of responsibility for refugee return that falls on Rwandan authorities increases. The Government must have as its constant priority improving conditions: both those that are tied directly to refugees' willingness to return and those that shape the overall image of the country and thus influence their willingness to return, at least indirectly.

Two of the latter aspects are particularly important: the situation in jails and the justice system. The two are linked. There can be no excuse for 50,000 people to be languishing in jails a year after the end to the genocide — with no relief in sight, because no trials have started. It is imperative that the Government, which we hear is not united in its view on these matters, demonstrate the necessary political will and resolve fundamental political issues that are delaying the process, namely: first, the nomination of judges to the Supreme Court; secondly, the use of expatriate personnel in the judicial system; and, thirdly, the solution of procedural irregularities that have resulted from the emergency nature of most arrests.

The start of trials has to become a priority for all branches of government; the legislature and the executive have to cooperate with the judiciary for judicial action to begin.

This draft resolution started out as one dealing with the now-obsolete provisions of the arms embargo that resolution 918 (1994) imposed on Rwanda. The embargo was imposed on a genocidal regime, and many of us recall the sorry spectacle of a representative of that regime sitting at this table, making his objectionable presentation and voting against paragraph 13, which actually imposed the embargo. Surely, a lot has changed since then.

Today we are in effect suspending the arms embargo for a little over a year, allowing it to terminate automatically unless the Council decides to reimpose it, based on a report that the Secretary-General is called upon to submit next August. In other words, Rwanda is not off the embargo hook entirely; and one hopes that progress in solving its domestic problems, and, for that matter, progress in resolving the camp-population issue, will be so clear that there will be no reason to reimpose it.

The embargo-suspending provisions of this draft resolution rightly emphasize two things: first, any arms flows into Rwanda must be destined solely for the Rwandan Government forces — that is to say, for no other forces in the country, and for the forces of no other Government outside the country; and, secondly, the free-for-all arms bazaar is one of the greatest scourges of the countries in the region.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): To explain my delegation's position on the draft resolution before the Council, allow me to begin by recalling the Italian Government's strong conviction that the serious crisis afflicting the region of the Great Lakes can be solved only through political and diplomatic means — certainly not through military means. Stability and security in the entire region, including Rwanda, can be fostered not through an increase in arms — we all know that there are already too many in the area — but through confidence-building measures aimed at creating a climate of trust and dialogue and through a diplomatic conference with the participation of all the Great Lakes States, which, in our opinion, could greatly help to find a global solution to the many problems of the area.

As one more tragic proof of the excessive circulation of weapons in the area, let me recall the cowardly killing, on Sunday, 6 August, in the vicinity of Goma, close to the Rwandan border, of six Italian citizens, six people of good will engaged in humanitarian work on behalf of the Italian non-governmental

organization *Mondo Giusto*, which means "A Just World". The perpetrators are still unknown, but, according to the account of the only survivor, they did not steal any property from the victims. Clearly, they wanted to send an ominous message of some sort. In this regard, my Government's and my gratitude goes to all colleagues who have in recent days expressed their condolences, which I have already conveyed to the families.

The Italian Government is fully aware, on the one hand, of the legal and political grounds for the Rwandan Government's request to have reinstated its capacity to defend the country, and, on the other hand, is fully aware that conditions have evolved since the embargo was imposed.

There is still a threat to the stability of Rwanda, primarily by elements belonging to the former Government and army, which entertain hopes of revenge. Another threat to stability comes from the fact that a large number of Rwandans, for fear of reprisals, are still living in refugee camps outside Rwanda, thus preventing a true and complete process of national reconciliation and denying the contribution of their work and their talent to the economic recovery of Rwanda. Needless to say, the result of all this is that instability spreads throughout the area and threatens the security of other countries, not of Rwanda alone.

Therefore, we believe that it is crucial for the Council not to be seen as sending the wrong message that only a resort to weapons would provide sufficient security. This is why we have agreed to a cautious approach by postponing to a later date the definitive lifting of the embargo, while suspending its effects in the meantime. The draft resolution attaches conditions to ensure that it will not result in another wave of proliferation: arms will have to be marked and registered, and the Sanctions Committee has to be notified of their supply.

We have noted with satisfaction the more positive recent developments in Rwanda, as reflected in the report of the Secretary-General. It is reassuring, in particular, to see that working relations between the Rwandan Government and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) — to which my Government attaches the greatest importance — are better now than in the past. The draft resolution takes due note of this fact. Of course, a lot still needs to be done, especially in some areas, such as the overcrowding of the prisons and all the ensuing problems. Not only is it necessary to train the police and provide it with new arms; it is also necessary to rebuild the judicial system. One of the main reasons why the Blue Helmets are still there is exactly to help the Kigali Government in this particular field and to achieve genuine national reconciliation.

UNAMIR's capacity to fully implement its mandate will encourage, we believe, the voluntary repatriation of refugees to Rwanda. Their return should remain a top priority of the Kigali Government, as it should remain a top priority for the international community. We fully share the views of the Secretary-General in this respect.

History has given ample evidence that the massive presence of refugees in camps right outside the border of a State is bound to provoke violence and instability. The people of Rwanda have already experienced enough violence and enough bloodbaths.

For all these reasons, I will cast Italy's vote in favour of the draft resolution.

The President: I shall now put draft resolution S/1995/703 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1011 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States of America): The United States has just cast its vote in favour of a resolution which in effect removes the arms embargo placed upon the previous Government of Rwanda. The current Government of Rwanda has been seeking this change for a number of months, and we have supported its request from the beginning. The Government of Rwanda faces a threat from extremists in the militias and former army, who will — according to the terms of today's resolution — continue to be restricted from buying arms. With the adoption of this resolution, the Government of Rwanda will be better able to deter violent action by these groups or, if necessary, defend the

new Rwandan society it is trying to build. The Government of Rwanda has agreed to certain conditions, such as reporting its purchases to the Council, in order to assuage the concerns of Council members and neighbouring States. We appreciate the flexibility shown by the Government of Rwanda on these issues. We fully support its right of self-defence, but underline that an unwarranted stockpiling of arms should not take place.

This step, however, goes only part of the way towards normalizing the situation in Rwanda. The prompt submission by the Secretary-General of recommendations for a commission of inquiry into allegations of arms flows to former Rwandan armed forces and the speedy establishment of such a commission are also necessary for the reduction of tension and the creation of a climate of trust.

Today's resolution underlines the expectation that the Government of Rwanda will shoulder all the responsibilities of an effective government, including creating the conditions of trust and confidence which are necessary for the safe and voluntary return of refugees.

One key element in creating such a climate of trust is an immediate improvement in the overcrowded conditions of Rwandan prisons. The United States is gravely concerned about the humanitarian crisis caused by the detention of more than 50,000 prisoners. We believe the Government of Rwanda should take measures as soon as possible to reduce the prison population through the release of young and elderly prisoners whenever possible, to reach agreement with international humanitarian organizations on steps to alleviate the overcrowding, to reduce the number of arrests to the absolute minimum, and to take steps to establish a functioning judiciary in Rwanda, beginning with naming a new Supreme Court.

The Council's action today takes one step towards addressing the problems of the region. We trust that the Secretary-General and the Governments of Rwanda and its neighbours will also take steps which are necessary for improving the situation. The Council, for its part, will surely be taking further actions to address the multifaceted situation in Central Africa.

Mr. Ladsous (France) *(interpretation from French)*: My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted by the Security Council. I must note, however, that we did so in spite of questioning the timeliness of the decision.

My Government entirely understands that from the legal standpoint the Kigali authorities wish to regain full sovereignty. It is normal for a Government to request full exercise of its competence to ensure the security of its inhabitants, and for it to possess the means to do so. By suspending the embargo against Rwanda until 1 September 1996 the Security Council has just complied with this request.

Yet the decision we have just taken should not be completely separated from the political context in Rwanda and in other countries of the region. We know that the Kigali Government has made many efforts to promote normalization of the situation in Rwanda, and the 8 August 1995 report of the Secretary-General testifies to this. But the report also stresses that many problems have only barely begun to be resolved.

There are nearly 2 million Rwandan citizens outside the borders of Rwanda. We have been saying for over a year that the return of refugees — with the exception of criminals, who must be put on trial — must be a priority for the Kigali Government. We are obliged to note that, for the moment, very few have agreed to return to their villages. To be sure, the fault lies in part with the militias, which continue to pressure these innocent civilians, but the situation in Rwanda does not really encourage their return.

There continue to be large numbers of arrests; the conditions of detention are tragic; there is a near absence of dialogue between the refugees and the Kigali authorities: none of this is likely to make Rwandan expatriates return home. We think that the decision to lift the embargo will be an added deterrent, which is why we would have preferred a gradual lifting of the embargo that dealt on a priority basis with equipment for maintaining order, and especially for equipping the police and the gendarmerie.

But we have no wish to despair. We hope that the authorization to import weapons, now granted to the Government of Rwanda, will be used in a measured, well-advised way, and that the additional flows of weapons will not increase tension among the countries of the region, as some signs seem to indicate they will.

The international community must continue to give its full support to the Kigali Government to enable it to complete the work of national reconciliation and reconstruction to which it has committed itself. If we

want to avoid new disasters, we must make rapid progress towards that goal.

My Government remains convinced that the rapid organization of a regional conference on peace, security and development would lay a solid, indispensable foundation for the restoration of stability in the Great Lakes region. That is why we await with interest the report the Secretary-General is to make to the Security Council within one month.

For its part, the French Government remains fully prepared to participate in a constructive initiative that would allow the reintegration of all Rwandans into their homeland, the restoration of democracy and the resumption of progress in that part of Africa.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The resolution the Security Council has just adopted includes a necessary and justified measure: the lifting of the embargo on arms and related *matériel* that had been imposed on the Government of Rwanda. Members will recall that by its resolution 918 (1994) the Council imposed the embargo on the former Government of Rwanda in circumstances completely different from those of today.

Internally and externally, the situation has changed, and the serious security concerns are no longer aroused from within, but rather from outside Rwanda. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his valuable report (S/1995/678), which points to important progress in a number of areas; to an appreciable improvement in the security situation in Rwanda and in relations between the Government and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR); to the Government's adoption of measures to encourage the voluntary return of refugees, including an invitation that was extended to representatives of the refugees to visit Rwanda; to the intensification of bilateral contacts in the region; and to a gradual shift in the focus of the international community, from emergency assistance to the phase of rehabilitation and reconstruction.

The report of the Secretary-General also notes the tension and lack of security in areas neighbouring Rwanda, which are exacerbated by reports of infiltration and sabotage by armed elements, and by accusations that members of the forces of the former Government and militias have been engaging in military training and have received arms from abroad.

In these circumstances, the Security Council has a responsibility with respect to the external security of Rwanda, a Member State bearing the burden of the arms embargo. Because of this responsibility; because we consider that the embargo must be viewed as an exceptional measure and in a restricted context; because, as we said earlier, the present situation in Rwanda is totally different from that which earlier prompted the imposition of the embargo; because Rwanda should be enabled to guarantee the security of its inhabitants and to exercise its right of self-defence: for those reasons the Argentine Republic supported the lifting of the embargo on arms and related *matériel* with respect to the Government of Rwanda, and the retention of the embargo with respect to those in the States neighbouring Rwanda if such sale or supply is for the purpose of the use of the arms within Rwanda.

To be sure, we are fully aware of the problems Rwanda faces because of the absence of an effective justice system and the abuses and arbitrary arrests and detentions arising from the remaining limitations and from the inhuman conditions in its prisons. We also recognize the particularly tense and volatile situation in the Great Lakes region, and we note with concern that no less than a quarter of Rwanda's population lives in refugee camps in neighbouring countries.

Owing to this special situation, which involves not only Rwanda, we support the temporary implementation of a system of notification and the marking and registering of arms entering Rwanda; this will serve to win the confidence of the refugees and dispel all doubts about Rwanda's true intentions with respect to arms.

We believe that the implementation of this special monitoring regime might have been enough to lift the arms embargo, without the need to call for a new decision by the Council.

We wish to take this opportunity to urge the countries of the region, many of which are subject to many difficult problems because of the massive presence of refugees in their territories, to join forces in order to resolve together the region's critical security and stability situation. In that respect, we encourage swift responses to the requests in paragraphs 2, 4 and 5 of the resolution.

We acknowledge the achievements of the Government of Rwanda in its efforts to redress a situation that was until very recently tragic and in its population's recovery of its normal rhythm of life. None

the less, much remains to be done, and in that respect we urge the Government of Rwanda to redouble its efforts to promote dialogue between all its political sectors and to guarantee respect for human rights and the security of its entire populace. This effort is essential.

The promotion of the voluntary return of refugees must also continue to be a priority, since without the integration of all Rwandans and respect for their diversity there will be no lasting stability.

The tragedy experienced by the people of Rwanda barely a year ago has extremely complex social, psychological, political and economic dimensions. We know it is no easy task to redress quickly a situation like this one, and this is the challenge facing the Government of Rwanda. In the performance of that task, we trust that the international community will continue to contribute, and indeed will increase its contribution, to the effort for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Rwanda.

Mr. Henze (Germany): First of all, I should like to express my delegation's satisfaction that the Council was able to reach a unanimous decision on the matter of the arms embargo against the Rwandan Government. This resolution demonstrates the Council's ability to take decisions on difficult issues.

My delegation voted in favour of this resolution, which suspends the embargo against the Government of Rwanda for one year and lifts it as of 1 September 1996. We understand that the lifting of the embargo is more a matter of principle for the Rwandan Government than an issue of practical concern. We voted in favour of the resolution because we think it is a well-balanced text. On the one hand, it takes into account the legitimate demands of the Rwandan Government. On the other hand, it acknowledges the fragile security situation in the subregion. It was therefore appropriate to link the Rwandan Government's right to buy weapons with extensive control mechanisms, including Rwanda's obligation to notify the sanctions Committee of its arms purchases.

The arms embargo against Rwanda is not an isolated question. It is closely linked to the overall situation in the Great Lakes region. The resolution has taken this aspect into account by requesting the Secretary-General to make recommendations to the Council as soon as possible on a commission to investigate the flow of arms to forces of the former Rwandan Government. In our view, such a commission should be established without further delay, and we hope that all the countries concerned will cooperate with it. In this respect, we welcome, in particular, the commitment of the Government of Zaire to work with such a commission. I should like to point out that, in addition, we would still prefer the deployment of United Nations military observers in the border regions, in particular at the airfields in eastern Zaire. Also, the urgent convening of a regional conference remains an absolute priority.

The return of the Rwandan refugees remains central to the question of stability in the Great Lakes region. In this respect, we call upon the Rwandan Government to intensify its rehabilitation efforts and, in particular, its efforts for national reconciliation. We urge the Government to start a genuine national dialogue with all members of Rwandan society, excluding, of course, those responsible for last year's genocide. In order to promote a climate of trust in the country, we also call upon the Government to address immediately the situation in its desperately overcrowded prisons and the necessary reform of its judicial system. Germany is ready to give assistance to alleviate the situation of the prisoners.

The resolution we have just adopted is an important step towards the normalization of the situation in this part of Africa. But more remains to be done. The main responsibility lies with the countries of the region themselves. We are determined to assist them in their efforts.

Sir John Weston (United Kingdom): The British Government welcomes the adoption of this resolution. We believe it is a sensible, balanced text, the provisions of which will contribute to the maintenance of peace and stability in the region. My delegation is particularly grateful for the helpful and constructive contribution made by the Rwandan delegation during the negotiations on the text. We welcome its agreement to the arrangements for notification of all arms supplied to the Government of Rwanda under the terms of this resolution, which we believe will be an important confidence-building measure with respect to neighbouring countries.

My delegation also welcomes the provisions in this resolution aimed at tightening the embargo where it remains in place. In this context we are pleased to see that the resolution reinforces the ban on arms transfers to exiled extremist groups. We look forward to receiving the Secretary-General's recommendations on a commission to investigate alleged arms flows to forces of the former Rwandan Government in the Great Lakes

region. We call upon all States in the region to respond positively and constructively to the Secretary-General's further consultations concerning the deployment of United Nations military observers to monitor the embargo.

The British Government hopes that, when the Security Council comes to review the issue of the operation of the arms embargo in 12 months' time, we will be able to register a net improvement in the political and security situation in the Great Lakes region.

At the same time, we believe that a lasting solution to the problems of this region can be brought about only by peaceful means, through political and diplomatic activity, including, in particular, dialogue and negotiation. In that context, we welcome the efforts made by the Government of Rwanda to promote national reconciliation. We hope these efforts can be intensified in order to help create an atmosphere of security, trust and confidence conducive to the safe return of refugees, which remains essential for the long-term stability of Rwanda and the region as a whole.

The international community must also play a part in this process. We look forward to receiving the Secretary-General's report on his efforts to convene a regional conference on security, stability and development, and on the case for a possible regional meeting on the repatriation of refugees, in which, no doubt, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) will have a role.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French)*: My delegation would like at the outset to express its condolences to the representative of Italy on the death of Italian citizens who became victims in Zaire of people they had gone to help and their hosts. My delegation has always denounced the mixing of refugees with armed groups; it has always denounced the policy of a host country that supports armed groups that hide in the midst of refugees to manipulate and use them.

We would ask the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and particularly its office in Zaire, to carry out its responsibility to facilitate the return of the refugees and to condemn dealings between the camps under its control and the camps of the former Rwandan forces.

We would also ask the partners of the Governments of the area of the Great Lakes that are interested in the situation in Rwanda to help reduce tensions in the region. The question of the Rwandan refugees has been exploited in various ways which are in the interests of neither Rwanda nor the refugees. There are those who would like to use the refugees to enhance their image with the international community and play a key role in the subregion.

We recall the fact that Belgium and France have a major, historic responsibility in the current situation in Rwanda. This responsibility is entirely shared with the United Nations in general and with the Security Council in particular. It necessitates cooperation with the Rwandan Government to put the country back on track, to rebuild it and Rwandan society. But my delegation emphasizes that the historic responsibility I have referred to does not give any country the right to set itself up as the spokesman for Rwanda.

I should like, through you, Mr. President, to thank the Secretary-General wholeheartedly for his visit to Rwanda. It was high time it took place, and it was necessary not only for Rwanda but for the United Nations. But above all I thank the Secretary-General for his report, which describes the real developments in Rwanda one year after the assumption of power by a Government that has fought genocide and is attempting to put the country back on its feet. Without much in the way of human resources, without *matériel*, Rwanda is on the right track: after the genocide of an eighth of its population, Rwanda has succeeded in bringing together 6 million Rwandese and has made it possible for people traumatized by cruel torture and brainwashed by State and Church propaganda to live together. Rwanda has succeeded in establishing a government of national unity, a parliament representing all political parties in the country and has restored electricity and telephones and other means of communication.

The Government has made an exceptional effort to put the country back on its feet. By way of example, I would note that after the Second World War one European country had 60,000 people executed: Rwanda has killed no one. And those who engaged in vengeance or personal justice in Rwanda were executed.

That is why my delegation asks those countries that are sheltering the criminals who have engaged in genocide to take appropriate measures to arrest them, since those countries have signed the Convention on genocide.

The fear in the Great Lakes region has not been created by weapons: but it has been created by the

impunity that prevails there. The Government of Rwanda wishes to establish in the country a state of law which is based not on fear or force but on justice.

As I have stated on more than one occasion, there is no proliferation of arms in Rwanda. In Rwanda, the priority is not the purchase of weapons. The priority is national reconstruction, the return of the refugees and the rebuilding of Rwandese society.

Rwanda's main objective in submitting this resolution was based on the principle of the sovereignty of the country and its right and duty to defend its population and its territory.

Rwanda has no intention whatsoever of provoking a war against its neighbours. Rwanda shares many interests with all the bordering countries. But the current Government does not want to inherit an embargo which was imposed upon the genocide Government. Instead of being arrested and brought to trial, the members of that genocide Government have been fed, taken care of, housed, trained and armed. The "brains" of that former Government, its soldiers and the members of its militias have never expressed regret for their acts. On the contrary, they are arming in order to commit the same crimes again. The real danger for the region is the impunity that the international community seems to be encouraging; it is a much greater danger than the weapons that are being acquired.

My delegation would like, in conclusion, sincerely to thank those countries that are giving their support to Rwanda so that it can pursue its development.

As to the countries neighbouring Rwanda, in Central and Eastern Africa, and the European countries that are still hesitating, on behalf of my Government my delegation invites them to visit Rwanda, to see with their own eyes what the country has achieved, and to establish with the representatives of the Rwandese people a better form of cooperation, based on mutual respect.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): Allow me at the outset to express on behalf of my delegation our appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General for his progress report on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) as well as for his latest visit to Rwanda, which has reflected the international community's concern and its interest in assisting the people of Rwanda to grapple with the aftermath of the tragic events that befell their country last year.

We note with satisfaction that the security situation in the country has improved considerably since last June. Working relations between the Government of Rwanda and UNAMIR has also improved. As a consequence, the restrictions on UNAMIR's freedom of movement have been lifted and the Mission is now in a better position to carry out its mandate successfully.

On the political level, we welcome the strenuous efforts of the Rwandese Government to promote law and order in the country and to encourage national reconciliation through fostering confidence-building measures and the safety and voluntary return of the refugees. We welcome, in particular, the Rwandan Government's attitude towards the refugee delegations who are visiting the country to see for themselves the current situation in Rwanda and who will share their impressions with the refugees in the camps. We hope that the favourable impression with which they leave will dispel the refugees' fears and speed up their repatriation.

However, there are clearly a number of obstacles which should be overcome if the process of national reconciliation is to bear fruit. This includes the overcrowding in the Rwandan prisons, the inadequacy of the judicial system, and the tension on the borders with some neighbouring countries. But most dangerous of all are the continuing reports that elements of the former Government army and militia are regrouping, training and rearming themselves with a view to a violent return to Rwanda. My delegation is of the view that the international community should continue its efforts aimed at preventing the recurrence of last year's tragic events in Rwanda.

In this connection, we welcome the resolution we have just adopted suspending until September 1996 the restrictions on arms sales or supply imposed under resolution 918 (1994), with a view to lifting it totally thereafter. We believe that in view of the new realities on the ground and the change in the circumstances which prompted the imposition of those restrictions, this action on the part of the Council is fully justified.

Moreover, the Government of Rwanda, like any other sovereign Government, has every right to exercise its inherent right of self-defence against any elements which pose a threat to its territorial integrity and security. We consider the aims of the Rwandan Government to be noble, and any deviation from those principles will complicate the actions of this Council in the future.W e deem it appropriate that these restrictions remain on the

non-governmental forces so that this measure can accomplish its dual purpose.

On the other hand, we have seen a deterioration of security in the border areas between Rwanda and Zaire. The Council needs to keep a close watch on arms movements in that part of Africa. That is why we believe that the question of the registration of weapons is very important, as indicated in paragraph 11 of the resolution. My delegation commends the Government of Rwanda for giving its acceptance. My delegation also concurs with paragraph 10, which addresses the movement of weapons to neighbouring countries or to people not in the service of the Government of Rwanda.

We know very well that the justice system in Rwanda needs the help of the international community. This is an area which cannot be established efficiently overnight. At the same time, many detainees are languishing in jails which are in very, very bad shape. Here, too, Rwanda needs the urgent help of the international community. But, more than that, we need Rwanda's commitment and will to offer fair treatment to all its people and in trying to promote reconciliation among its people.

Finally, we hope that the support of our Council for the Rwandan call to lift the arms embargo will be taken as a gesture of the Council's trust and confidence in the efforts already demonstrated by the Rwanda Government.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Indonesia.

At the outset, my delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on the progress of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda and the valuable observations contained therein, which have provided the necessary framework for the Council's discussion on the resolution.

My delegation voted in favour of the resolution before us today, which decides that the restrictions imposed by paragraph 13 of resolution 918 (1994) concerning the sale or supply of arms and related *matériel* to the Government of Rwanda shall be suspended, and terminated permanently on 1 September 1996, unless the Security Council decides otherwise. The arms embargo was imposed because the uncontrollable circulation of arms was a major factor in the destabilization of the country. In fact, the present Government has made serious efforts towards stability and a peaceful reconstruction of Rwanda, and it is therefore our view that the decision which the Council has taken today will in fact help prevent a recurrence of past violence.

Considering the recent history of Rwanda, it is understandable that there may be some concern that an increasing flow of arms may lead to disorder in the country, but the resolution should be seen from a more positive perspective. It marks an important step in the development of Rwanda and represents the international community's adjusting views on its realities. Furthermore, elements in the resolution, such as a review of the effects of the resolution in six months and one year, as reflected in paragraph 12, would help ensure the fulfilment of its basic objectives.

It is essential that the Rwandan Government refrain from the use of arms and related *matériel* for any but legitimate purposes in accordance with international law, such as self-defence. We expect that the resolution will enable Rwanda to take primary responsibility for maintaining its own security structure, independent of United Nations forces, in order to ensure peace and stability throughout the Great Lakes region. In this regard, it is of paramount importance that the countries surrounding Rwanda contribute to monitoring the arms flow in the region in order to prevent civilians or destabilizing forces in the region, especially refugees in Rwandan camps within their territories, from acquiring military *matériel*. Therefore, my delegation supports the establishment of a commission to investigate the alleged arms flow to former Rwandan government forces in the region, as reflected in paragraph 2.

The lifting of the embargo on the Government of Rwanda does not come without a measure of responsibility. We are confident that Rwanda fully recognizes the importance of continuing its efforts to create an atmosphere of confidence and trust for the safe return of refugees and that it will strive towards a solution to the humanitarian problems regarding its prisons. To that end, we also underline the need for increased efforts to expedite the improvement of the prison and judicial system.

The Indonesian delegation is pleased to note the spirit of cooperation with which the Council has responded to the resolution, which respects the sovereign right of the Government of Rwanda to maintain peace and security, while addressing concerns about a recurrence of the tragedy that claimed the lives of so many innocent civilians in Rwanda's terrible civil war.

Finally, my delegation would be remiss if we failed to express our appreciation to all the military, police and civilian personnel of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda for their tireless efforts on our behalf in working for peace and stability in Rwanda.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3567

Security Council

Fifteth Year

Provisional

3567th Meeting

Friday, 18 August 1995, 1 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wisnumurti	(Indonesia)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Italy	Mr. Terzi di Sant'Agata
	Nigeria	Mr. Egunsola
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Wood

Agenda

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/1995/657)

95-85844 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 1 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/1995/657)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Georgia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chkheidze (Georgia) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, contained in document S/1995/657.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia of 9 August 1995 (S/1995/657) pursuant to its resolution 993 (1995).

"The Security Council notes there has been little overall progress in achieving a comprehensive political settlement and that a stalemate exists with respect to the return of refugees and displaced persons.

"The Security Council expresses its full support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and those of the Russian Federation in its capacity as facilitator aimed at achieving a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict, including on the political status of Abkhazia, respecting fully the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia. The Council renews its call to the parties, in particular the Abkhaz side, to reach substantive progress in the political negotiations as a matter of urgency.

"The Security Council remains deeply concerned at the continued obstruction of the return of the refugees and displaced persons by the Abkhaz authorities, which is totally unacceptable. Reaffirming its resolution 993 (1995), the Council reiterates its call to the Abkhaz authorities to accelerate the return process significantly, to guarantee the safety of all returnees and to regularize the status of spontaneous returnees, in accordance with internationally accepted practice and in cooperation with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

"The Security Council welcomes the continuing close cooperation and coordination between UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping force in the performance of their respective mandates. It reminds the parties of their obligations to cooperate fully with UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping force and to ensure the safety and freedom of movement of all UN and CIS personnel.

"The Security Council takes note with appreciation of the decision of the Secretary-General regarding the resident Deputy to his Special Envoy. The Council also supports the Secretary-General's efforts with regard to the establishment of a human rights monitoring mission in the area. It encourages the Secretary-General to continue his consultations with the parties to this end."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/39.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3568

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3568th Meeting

Saturday, 19 August 1995, 10.55 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wisnumurti	(Indonesia)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Nkgowe
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Rudolph
	Honduras	Mr. Suazo Fernández
	Italy	Mr. Terzi di Sant'Agata
	Nigeria	Mr. Egunsola
	Oman	Mr. Al-Hassan
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)

Letter dated 17 August 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/707)

95-85850 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)

Letter dated 17 August 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/707)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took places at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1995/707, which contains the text of a letter dated 17 August 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1995/710, which contains the text of a letter dated 18 August 1995 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council is deeply concerned by the contents of the Secretary-General's letter of 17 August 1995 (S/1995/707) regarding the continued impediments to the functioning and deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) established by resolution 998 (1995) of 16 June 1995.

"The Council reaffirms in this regard that the RRF is an integral part of UNPF/UNPROFOR and that its deployment is crucial for the strengthening of UNPROFOR's capacity to carry out its mandate in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It shares the Secretary-General's view that the existing status of forces agreements constitute an appropriate and sufficient basis for the presence of UNPF/UNPROFOR, including the RRF.

"The Security Council is deeply concerned at the implications of the continued impediments to the functioning of the RRF for the effectiveness of the United Nations mission in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It calls upon the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina immediately to remove all impediments and to give clear undertakings concerning the freedom of movement and provision of facilities for the RRF, in order that it may perform its tasks without further delay. It further calls upon them to resolve forthwith within the framework of the existing SOFAs any outstanding difficulties with the relevant United Nations authorities.

"The Security Council supports fully the efforts of the Secretary-General in this matter and will return to this question in the light of a further report which the Security Council requests the Secretary-General to submit no later than 24 August 1995."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/40.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 11 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3569

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3569th Meeting

Wednesday, 23 August 1995, 1.20 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wisnumurti	(Indonesia)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Zawels
	Botswana	Mr. Nkgowe
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Michal
	France	Mr. Foucher
	Germany	Mr. Eitel
	Honduras	Mr. Suazo Fernández
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Plumbly
	United States of America	Mr. Wood

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Letter dated 17 August 1995 from the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zaire addressed to the Secretary-General (S/1995/722)

Letter dated 18 August 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zaire (S/1995/723)

95-85862 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 1.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Letter dated 17 August 1995 from the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zaire addressed to the Secretary-General (S/1995/722)

Letter dated 18 August 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zaire (S/1995/723)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have the following documents before them: S/1995/722, letter dated 17 August 1995 from the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zaire addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1995/723, letter dated 18 August 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zaire.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council views with deep concern the forcible repatriation of Rwandan and Burundian refugees by the Government of Zaire and the increasingly tense situation in the region.

"The Security Council takes note of the recent letter from the Government of Zaire to the Secretary-General (S/1995/722) and the Secretary-General's reply (S/1995/723) in which he urges the Government of Zaire to continue to provide assistance to Rwandan and Burundian refugees.

"The Security Council considers that Zaire and the other States which have accepted refugees from Rwanda and Burundi make an important contribution, in spite of the considerable difficulties created for them thereby, to peace and stability in the region. Their contribution is of special importance in view of the genocide which took place in Rwanda and the possibility of further bloodshed in Burundi. The Council also notes the commitment of the Government of Rwanda to take the necessary steps to facilitate the safe return of its nationals as soon as possible and encourages it to continue its efforts in order to implement its undertakings in this respect.

"The Security Council calls on the Government of Zaire to stand by its humanitarian obligations regarding refugees, including, *inter alia*, those under the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951, and to reconsider and halt its declared policy of the forcible repatriation of refugees to Rwanda and Burundi.

"The Security Council supports the decision by the Secretary-General to send the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to the region to engage in urgent discussions with the Government of Zaire and neighbouring States with a view to resolving the situation. It encourages all Governments in the region to cooperate with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to achieve the voluntary and orderly repatriation of refugees. It also calls on the international community to provide all possible assistance to help care for the refugees."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/41.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.